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Building a union of textile workers; report of two years progress to the convention of the United textile workers of America and the Textile workers organizing committee, affiliated with the Congress of industrial organizations, Philadelphia, Pa., May 15–19, 1939 ... [New York, Printed by Goodman press, inc., 1939?]

2 p. l., v, [2], 79 p. 22½cm.

1. Trade unions—U. S. I. United textile workers of America. II. Congress of industrial organizations. III. Title.

Library of Congress HD6515.T4T4 41-8443
[2] 331.88177

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REPORT TO THE CONVENTION

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OF

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THOMAS KENNEDY, *Secretary-Treasurer*

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Greetings from Our Chairman

To the Delegates to the Textile Workers Convention:

In greeting the First Constitutional Convention of the Textile Workers' Organizing Committee, I wish to express the gratification and pride of the CIO and the labor movement, generally, in the substantial progress you have made in two short years in bringing organization to the textile workers. The strides you have made, though only a beginning, have gone far toward realizing economic and job security in many sections of the industry, and the restoration of human dignity and self-respect.

The part played by the United Mine Workers of America, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America and the CIO generally in helping you help yourself was an undertaking that went beyond the call of duty. Enlightened self-interest dictated to your sister organizations to aid, with both men and means, the struggle of textile workers out of the industrial backwoods into the light of economic democracy and security. No section of American labor is free and secure until all American labor is free. The economic levels of substantiated industries must be constantly raised if those now enjoying the fruits of organization and high standards, are to continue to enjoy them. In the great campaign of the CIO to organize the unorganized, duty and enlightened self-interest both played their parts. We are happy to have assisted.

We were under no illusions. The road was hard — is still hard, and there are obstacles. There were setbacks, of course. The 1938 recession did not help. But the number of agreements reached, the growth of membership, the hundreds of thousands under contract, the willingness, at long last, of outstanding managements to deal with a free union of textile workers, the sense of responsibility in respect to contracts, all these are milestones along the path to greater growth and organization.

We have no fears as regards the future of union organization. The union of textile workers is here to stay. It will spread and grow so long as your officers and members continue to be aware of their great opportunities and their great responsibility. Unity, harmony, devotion to duty, eyes fixed on the goal of organization will bring their inevitable result.

We expect that the organized textile workers will more and more play their part in the tasks that lie ahead — improvements in our economic life and the preservation of all our democratic forms.

I greet the First Constitutional Convention of TWOC and wish it Godspeed in its deliberations.

Sidney Hillman

Chairman
Textile Workers Organizing Committee

A Message From the Executive Director

Dear Brothers and Sisters:

This Convention, the climax of a century's struggle for organization, begins the most auspicious chapter in the history of the American textile labor movement. Ever since the industrial revolution of the 1820's, we have awaited in this nation the launching of a strong and permanent textile union.

Such a movement takes time and prolonged effort to build. A permanent and solid organization cannot be constructed in a year, or even two. Furthermore, we could never have built it alone. Hampered by the misfortunes of a troubled industry, our resources never were large enough for a widescale movement, though we needed the same mass scale organizational pattern which workers in other industries had created.

At last, with the agreement between the United Textile Workers of America and the Committee for Industrial Organization, opportunity came to us in the form of help from the workers in ther industries. With their funds and leadership, in contrast to the empty pledges and hollow promises of the past, we began to build for ourselves a permanent organization. All of us plunged into the struggle.

The wholehearted response and loyalty of the nation's textile tunity came to us in the form of help from the workers in other inworkers has more than repaid us for our labors. I, for one, felt highly honored to serve them on the Textile Workers Organizing Committee with our devoted staff and our able Chairman, Sidney Hillman. For me, the textile drive has proved a rich and memorable experience.

During the year just past, necessity placed on my shoulders an ever increasing part of the direction and supervision of our organization. From that vantage point I have seen the organization grow with remarkable speed into a vast union. But with that growth came problems, multiplying as fast as our membership. The future promises many more. Still, as we go on, we learn, so that the errors we made yesterday serve as guides for tomorrow. The following report, which herewith I transmit to you, describes our major problems. It tells as well, the inspiring story of our organization drive.

It is an amazing record, answering unmistakably the skeptics who had questioned the possibilities of setting up an effective organization of textile workers. It is doubly remarkable against a back-

ground of bad times that complicated the organizational problems inherent in a scattered disjointed, fluctuating industry. It is a record of agreements signed, strikes won, successful court and Labor Board cases, new locals, and multiplying membership. It is a story of tremendous devotion on the part of hundreds of organizers, and of heroic devotion and sacrifice on the part of tens of thousands of workers.

As the report reveals, we now represent 274,000 textile workers in collective relations with their employers. We serve as bargaining agent in 1018 concerns. Furthermore, in several subdivisions of the industry, our union contracts today set the prevailing standards. And, through an additional 100,000 textile workers, who in the main are new recruits to the union, we are spreading into unorganized mills. These mills hitherto had been barred to organization.

We have built the organization literally from the ground up, constructing sound locals as the basic units. Because they incorporate the fundamental strength of the organization and hold the promise of its future power, we are training each local thoroughly in our principles and purposes, methods and duties.

From that solid foundation we can face the future, challenging all the complications it will bring. We know that we can succeed, and that success depends on our devotion, courage and fortitude.

The entire labor movement has invested in us, asking in return only a strong textile union. Moreover, the nation looks to us for a strong union as one of its defenses in this troubled era for democracy. Recent history across the sea magnifies our role as the safeguard of liberty. Democracy is endangered so long as a million and a quarter textile workers remain in that "third of a nation" which is "ill-fed, ill-clothed, and ill-housed."

To protect the nation, we must gain for all textile workers a living wage and decent working conditions.

In that spirit, I wish you all success.

Emil Rieve

Executive Director.

A Message From the President

of the United Textile Workers of America

To the Delegates to the Textile Workers Convention:

Our last convention saw our organization at a low ebb, following the bold efforts of the 1934 general strike to secure real improvements in working conditions for textile workers. We had trusted that the decisions of the 1936 convention would result in a permanent, strong union. We found, however, that we had not the means nor the personnel for a national organizing drive. To fulfill the hopes expressed at our convention we had to turn to other organizations. Fortunately, we had helped to create the Committee for Industrial Organization. Now the CIO stood ready to assist us.

The former president of our organization requested its assistance and negotiated an agreement with the Committee for Industrial Organization which was approved unanimously by our Executive Council. This agreement was a token of our desire to work together to build a progressive, permanent textile union.

The man who piloted us to this new agreement saw fit to leave his ship before the journey had ended. His conduct became improper and destructive. Under these circumstances, the Executive Council determined that the organization's welfare demanded that he be dismissed. It reaffirmed its adherence to the original agreement with the CIO.

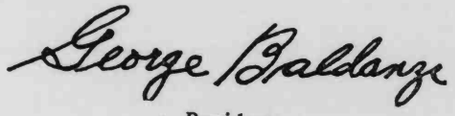
Fortunately for the textile workers of this country, we have carried on with the firm conviction that our members desired the agreement. We know that no textile labor organization could really be built without such aid from the general labor movement. We have constantly asked for it and now we have received it. The CIO gave us substantial assistance. It placed funds, leadership and guidance at our command. We have built a new, enduring organization which will bring real benefits to textile workers. No longer will our strength rise and fall with the flow and ebb of sentiment. We have established permanent unions in the most outstanding textile companies in the country with contracts providing real gains and substantial union recognition.

The CIO has been constantly at our side in developing our union. We are proud that we can now assume all the obligations of leadership of our union and that it has become firmly established.

At this convention the CIO is completing our understanding. We have also observed its very letter and spirit. We are happy to know that we shall continue to receive the assistance and guidance of the CIO in creating an even mightier textile labor movement.

The task ahead of us calls for all our energies. We have proven that an effective, militant, national textile union can be established. Our past victories strengthen our determination. We must now extend our union's influence and multiply its benefits.

I salute the United Textile Labor Movement which this convention will establish.



President
United Textile Workers of America

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I.

A Permanent Modern Textile Union is Needed

An integrated organization never had persisted in the textile industry before the advent of the Textile Workers Organizing Committee of the Congress of Industrial Organization. Only unions in two branches of the industry had survived. The major branches had known neither stable unions nor collective bargaining. Against this background the establishment of a permanent union for textile workers stands out as a unique and profoundly significant contribution.

The TWOC built a mass union in face of prevailing doubts. There were many leaders who pointed to the past to show that textile workers never would have a permanent labor movement of industry-wide proportions. They have been discouraged by the failures of the past and the indifference of many organized textile groups. It required the CIO with new principles, methods and policies for the American mass production industry to quicken the interest in the organization of textile workers. These factors coupled with the generous support of the CIO, have transformed the textile labor movement under the TWOC banner into a permanent modern union.

Protests by textile workers in this country against oppression, long hours, low wages and exhaustive work loads date back to the early 1820's. Nevertheless, there has been no permanent union in the industry effectively to correct or control these conditions. Unions were shortlived or ineffective. During the last century unions were local in membership and limited to individual crafts. They preached and practiced an English type of unionism adapted to the older crafts. In several instances, American textile unions were, in fact, branches of English trade unions. These locals at best corrected local abuses and controlled specific crafts. They were unable to meet the needs of the bulk of the operatives. They were unsuited to the first American modern factory industry.

The history of American textile unionism has been the story of the failure to develop a national organization with policies suited to the workers and the industry. National textile labor leaders spent the greater part of their time within the organization to persuade the membership of the need for a powerful national union. Only in 1900 there arose a national union for textile workers, the

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This report was prepared by Solomon Barkin, Director of Research of the TWOC with the editorial assistance of Florence Pryor.

United Textile Workers of America. In its first fourteen years, it devoted much of its time to convince the constituent locals of the "efficacy of a united national organization."

Thomas F. McMahon summarized the difficulties in the following words: "Petty differences in matter of policy, local jealousies to subscribe sufficient funds to the national organization to make it effective, marked the early days and led to the temporary secession of local unions. The tendency, too, of some locals to declare strikes without the endorsement of the International thus perpetuating the methods of the old local units, made many complications." The union therefore made small gains in membership and had no strong footing. The feeling for a strong national union was not deeply engrained.

The World War, the general unrest during the period, governmental policy and inflation changed the situation temporarily. The locals favoring a strong national union gained ascendancy in the union and voted a uniform per capita tax. With these additional resources, the union grew. Its membership rose to 32,000 in 1916 and to 100,000 in 1920. New people came into the union. The UTWA succeeded in securing a standard forty-eight hour week in the northern cotton textile industry.

This bright chapter was shortlived. The union soon lost all of its gains. The industrial depression of 1920 eliminated thousands of its members. Unsuccessful industry-wide strikes did the rest. The union declined in 1921 to 30,000 and finally its membership fell to 15,000 in 1932.

The southern strikes in 1920 and 1921 wiped out the organizational advances made in that area during 1918 and 1919. These strikes took place over too wide an area and among too many persons to be led properly and to be financed by the then existing UTWA. These strikes were all lost. Disillusionment followed these failures and organizations disappeared.

In New England, the 1922 general strike failed for similar reasons. Additional individual strikes occurred during the twenties but they also were lost for the most part. With each defeat came discouragement and greater sacrifices. The sense of defeat has lingered in many communities so that even today they remain difficult to organize.

The national union lost control. Its membership constantly dwindled; its funds fell; and its policies became less militant. It officially voted greater caution in endorsing strikes, but it did not substitute an active organizing program for its former "militancy." The union began to speak of "cooperation" with management, but it failed to provide for mass participation in this program and for adequate union guarantees. "Union-management cooperation" failed in the textile industry in the one instance in which it really was tried. Locals favoring decentralization gained control in the union.

The national union became less and less important as a leader, guide or support for textile unionism.

The dissatisfaction with this record inspired in the North, particularly, independent textile labor movements. They tried to gain control of the mass of textile workers, but they failed. They were also provincial and their policies were ill adapted to the highly competitive textile industry. They did not couple their militancy with a constructive industrial program. No textile labor organization had any important following during the twenties.

The strikes in the South in 1929 and 1930 were for the most part spontaneous protests against low wages, long hours, stretchout, and unsatisfactory working conditions. The historic strikes at Elizabethton, Marion, Gastonia and Danville were crushed by shootings, kidnapping and murder. They brought no real gains and reflected the current paucity in leadership and program in the textile labor movement. After these defeats wages sank lower and lower; hours were increased. Stretchout became the prevailing cry of the textile workers.

Unions became weaker and weaker during the depression and many disappeared. It was reported to the UTWA convention that "charters were maintained by a few active workers. As these facts became known to the manufacturers through our voting power at the AFL convention, many manufacturers in this trying period looked upon us with contempt."

The almost nonexisting textile labor movement revived with the NRA. The famous section 7 (A) granted labor the right to organize. Workers responded everywhere to the new charter of liberties. Wages rose and hours were shortened but the vise of the stretchout gripped more closely in the textile industry. Workers ran to unions for their protection. The UTWA grew. Six hundred locals were chartered in 1933. For the 1934 convention its membership was reported to be 230,000 by reason of this mushroom growth.

The organization had not learned its lessons from the past. It did not build to hold. Locals were no sooner chartered than they fell apart. Many workers, bemoaned the President of the UTWA, "allowed their charters to fall by the wayside because of the lack of enthusiasm and the proper trade union spirit." At the AFL convention it was represented for 38,750 dues paying members.

Nevertheless, the leaders' vision of power grew. They mistook sentiment for organization. Their participation in NRA industry conferences as nominal equals with management lent a sense of reality to this illusion. The officers saw themselves as heads of a mighty army which could compel obedience. The reckless militancy of 1920 and 1922 revived. Failing to understand the limitations of authority of the NRA agencies, the UTWA demanded formal industry-wide recognition, the thirty hour week, adequate wage in-

creases, reinstatement of displaced workers and an arbitration tribunal. When these demands were not secured, there followed on August 30, 1934, the largest industry-wide strike involving some 400,000 workers. It commanded nation-wide interest for its scope, general response, publicity and tactics, particularly the flying-squadron.

The organization was unprepared for this successful strike call. It didn't have the funds to direct, or sustain the strike, or to protect the strikers against brutality, strike-breakers, state militia and bosses. Aid came from only several progressive unions such as the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. The AFL turned a cold shoulder when requested to give financial assistance.

Despite the amazing response among the textile workers, the results were depressing. The 22 day strike ended with the acceptance of the Winant report providing for wage studies, a Textile Labor Relations Board and special work assignment studies. The tangible results were disappointments, deaths, terrorism, disappearance of organization and unemployment for thousands of martyred workers. Disillusionment was widespread. But the textile labor leaders had not yet forgotten their "reckless militancy." Strikes continued to be widespread and the major organizing method.

The general strike of 1934 and its long succession of additional failures in the following two years rapidly deflated the organization. Little remained behind except for the strong organizations of the autonomous Federations of hosiery workers and dyers. Wide disappointment developed within the ranks of the union. It had lost its opportunity. It came out of the NRA period with few positive gains in the form of membership or policy.

With the calling of the 1936 convention, a demand for change became most articulate. Led by the well organized divisions of the union, the membership asked for far-seeing leadership, adequate national organizing drives and methods of organization suited to the industry and its workers.

II.

UTWA Convention

The United Textile Workers of America Convention of September, 1936 heralded an intensified determination to organize textile workers throughout the United States. At that time, while the nation was rising to new heights of employment on the swelling tide of industrial activity, labor under the leadership of the Committee for Industrial Organization was rapidly entrenching national industrial unions on the American scene.

Under the CIO labor was making great gains in rubber and steel, even as the United Textile Workers of America convention began. Unionism had captured the imagination of the American workers. There was widespread demand for organization. Every speech at the convention sounded the call for textile workers to follow in the wake of the workers in other industries and to build a really strong and powerful international union. The very success of the CIO in other industries inspired in the textile delegates a fresh faith in the principle of the industrial union. The delegates endorsed the CIO, pledging it financial aid along with their moral support, and dedicating themselves to the promotion of industrial organization in textiles.

Hitherto, as a pauper among the giants, the union had suffered a reputation of general "backwardness." At the convention, to gird the union for its new and larger functions, the delegates, largely at the suggestion of those who were dissatisfied with the failings of the organization, raised the per capita tax, challenged its own organizers to be "hardworking, militant and alert," and provided for a more coordinated national organization through the establishment of a new type of executive council. This executive council was to include representatives of all branches of the industry. In addition, the convention recommended the establishment of a research and education department. It was hoped that these would make the organization more effective.

With the conviction that their actions at the convention forecast a greater union, the delegates returned to their locals with a message of hope, and a call to bring under the union's banners all those textile workers still outside the ranks.

III

UTWA Realizes Need for Outside Aid

The organization recognized its increased responsibilities as its new opportunities became evident. There was widespread demand for organization, at the end of 1936, among textile workers. One officer then declared that "not since the beginning of the NRA have I seen such sentiment for organization." Employment was rising everywhere, while in New England's cotton and woolen industries wages were increased "voluntarily", due to general CIO activity. Working conditions were improving generally. Industry was making profits. The success of other unions in mass production industries stimulated textile workers. It was widely realized that the time wa ripe for widescale organizing.

Handicaps

With conditions favoring organization the union tried to capitalize on these opportunities but it was soon apparent the rganization was unequal to the task. The executive council meetings between the convention and March 1937 tell of one great drawback; the lack of funds. As a result, the overwhelming demand for textile unions remained largely unexpressed except in sporadic, isolated strikes.

The United Textile Workers of America felt itself unable either to place an adequate number of organizers and leaders in the field or to furnish funds for such vital necessities as defense of strikers and strike relief, for legal protection and for long drawn out struggles. It had no war chest to support such battles, called all too frequently with little ability to see them through. As a case in point there were eighteen strikes recorded in December, 1936 but only two were successful.

Meantime, the textile workers scattered throughout the nation expected that leaders would arise in response to their pleas to establish genuine unions. To be sure, campaigns were planned, like those for the South, but they were impeded by lack of funds and men. The union, which might have reaped a large organization, was immersed in experiments. It was tentatively trying out new forms of organization which scattered its meager resources, decentralized the seats of policy, failed to unify the organization and dampened its fighting spirit. This magnified the difficulties of organizing textile workers, scattered over the entire eastern seaboard in many rural areas and small towns. To complicate the problem still further, Thomas F. McMahon resigned as President of the United Textile Workers of America and Francis J. Gorman assumed his office on February 1, 1937.

With the union short, both of funds and manpower on the one hand, and on the other hand lacking the facilities for coordination, the leaders concluded that there was a "shortage of forces." In the face of this great need, the union was forced to retrench. For lack of funds, the organizing force was reduced, declining from forty-two in November, 1936 to thirty-four in February, 1937. In addition to these curtailments, during most of that period, there were months when organizers had to forego at least one or two weeks' salary and expenses. Only in February, 1937, with the dismissal of a part of the personnel, the national organization managed to place its staff on a regular weekly payment basis.

In suffering such handicaps, the UTWA could not adequately meet its responsibilities to the unorganized textile workers. It therefore sought a "substitute for money." This substitute was "action" by "stimulating interest through local union membership." Under this plan local union committees were to assume the burden for starting new organization. Since the so-called organized mills were only partially organized, these local unons had more than enough work in their own mills to occupy them. Though these committees proved powerful weapons for pushing the cause of unionism it was soon apparent that they needed guidance as well as funds. The effort showed that such support was essential but not a substitute for an organizing drive.

Organizational Advances

Comparatively little progress was made during the five months following the convention despite extremely favorable economic and organizational conditions. Most significant of the union's victories was the contract won by rayon workers from the important Celanese Company of America. In the same way the hosiery workers finally unionized the Reading district of Pennsylvania after a long campaign. A handful of short strikes in New England mills, in addition, brought the workers wage increases which then were common in that territory. At the same time several strikes were lost simply because the organization lacked adequate funds to secure protection and relief for them. No enduring organization with union contracts and solidified ranks was really developed. Except for contracts in the hosiery and dyeing industries, only nine others were signed from September, 1936 through February, 1937 making a total of twenty-five in existence prior to March, 1937.

Size of the UTWA

Still the organization added some 12,311 new members in the five months between October, 1936 through February, 1937. The new members consisted of 2,808 hosiery workers, 1,514 dyers, 842 woolen and worsted workers and 7,147 workers in other

branches of the industry. These additions served to increase the nominal membership to a total of 73,873 in February, 1937, consisting of 20,702 hosiery workers, 11,094 dyers, and 41,719 other textile workers. Per capita received during the months of December, January and February represented, on the average, payments for 60,446 members, one-half of which came from the hosiery workers and dyers.

The organization by February of 1937 tended toward still further decentralization in its method of operation. Each of the individual federations was proceeding on its own individual course. The same condition also prevailed among local unions which frequently acted without reference to general trends. At the time, outside the hosiery workers and dyers, there were 281 local unions in the United Textile Workers of America, most of which were small. Four local unions accounted for a quarter of the membership. Only 25 locals had memberships exceeding five hundred workers. Furthermore, ninety per cent of the locals had less than three hundred members, and sixty per cent had less than a hundred members.

Lacking guidance and leadership, many of the locals were incapable of solidifying their ranks within their own plants. Merely nuclei for the development of organization, many of these locals consisted of the few members, tried and true to organization, who had weathered the 1934 strike, maintaining the remnants of their organization against the hour when opportunity would help them again to expand and establish permament unions.

Outside Aid Needed

The UTWA leaders knowing all these conditions, had gauged the organization's shortcomings and were aware of its needs. They, too, awaited an opportunity to establish a real textile union unfettered by these handicaps. Textile workers, they felt, should repeat the record of the rubber, steel and automobile workers.

They knew that the hour had struck and time would not wait, since the industrial upswing would soon sink into a depression. With immediate aid imperative, the job of organizing textile workers could not be done by a small group. It was a responsibility for the entire labor movement. The needs of a mass organization were too varied for the group to undertake, no matter how willing and energetic.

Of all these needs money loomed as most important. Such qualities as leadership and guidance, in addition, formed basic requisites for the permanency and success of a textile workers' organization. The tried leaders of other labor organizations could serve textiles while the real national textile labor movement was in the making.

Consequently, eyes turned to the Committee for Industrial Organization whose leaders had stood by textile workers in the past. Their broad vision and clear understanding of the needs of American workers in the mass production industries, and their unfaltering devotion to the task of organization had created the framework of a mass trade movement covering all of industry and embracing workers in every plant of the nation.

IV.

The Agreement

The appeal for aid by the officers of the United Textile Workers of America brought immediate and unhesitating response from the Committee for Industrial Organization. With its organizations thriving in the rubber, steel and automobile industries, the CIO was in a position to help shoulder the responsibilities of organizing the textile industries. Through negotiations carried on during the latter part of February and the early part of March, 1937, the two organizations designed a working pattern to insure the greatest unity and success. An agreement finally was drafted and presented to the Executive Council of the UTWA, outlining the conditions requisite for a successful campaign. After a thorough discussion at a Council meeting in Washington, D. C. on March 7, 1937, also attended by Brothers John L. Lewis and Sidney Hillman, the UTWA Executive Council unanimously approved the agreement. It was signed on March 9, 1937 by Francis J. Gorman on behalf of the United Textile Workers of America and John L. Lewis, Charles Howard, and Sidney Hillman for the Committee for Industrial Organization.

The contract reads as follows:

"AGREEMENT this ninth day of March, 1937, between the Committee for Industrial Organization and the United Textile Workers of America.

1. *A Textile Workers Organizing Committee shall be appointed by the Chairman of the Committee for Industrial Organization. Such Committee shall consist of a Chairman and Secretary-Treasurer, and such additional members as are deemed necessary by the Chairman of the Committee for Industrial Organization, two of whom shall be from the United Textile Workers of America.*

2. *The Textile Workers Organizing Committee shall have full authority and power:*

(*a*) *To administer outstanding and existing contracts between members of the United Textile Workers of America, or any of its affiliated federations or locals.*

(*b*) *To handle all matters relative to the organizing campaign to be instituted on behalf of all the textile workers of this country.*

(*c*) *To fix the initiation fees and dues for all new members, and to grant dispensation from the payment of initiation fees or dues for present members, and to require, if it so determines, that all initiation fees or dues that may come into the United Textile Workers of America from any source, shall be turned over to the Textile Workers Organizing Committee for campaign purposes.*

(*d*) *To deal with employers of the textile workers and execute agreements on an industry, employer or any other basis in the discretion of the Textile Workers Organizing Committee.*

3. *The United Textile Workers of America shall turn over its funds to the Textile Workers Organizing Committee to be used in the organizing campaign. The several officers and agents of the United Textile Workers of America shall place themselves under the jurisdiction and orders of the Textile Workers Organizing Committee.*

4. *The Committee for Industrial Organization shall contribute such sums of money as conditions of the organizing campaign require. The disbursement of the funds shall be made by the Secretary-Treasurer of the Textile Workers Organizing Committee, subject to rules promulgated by such Committee.*

5. *The Committee for Industrial Organization shall have complete power and authority to determine the details incident to the termination of the organizing campaign, the disbanding of the Textile Workers Organizing Committee, and the re-organization of the United Textile Workers of America for the benefit of its present members and new members who join during the organizing campaign.*

THE UNITED TEXTILE WORKERS OF AMERICA
By: FRANCIS J. GORMAN, *President*

THE COMMITTEE FOR INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATION
By: JOHN L. LEWIS, *Chairman*
CHARLES HOWARD
SIDNEY HILLMAN"

The contract, simple in form, symbolized the great determination of all textile labor leaders and of the CIO spokesmen to bring about organization in an industry in which all previous efforts had failed. It signified the unity of the entire labor movement in building a textile union. It sounded the call for organization and represented an authorization for the CIO to assume the responsibilities of directing the organization of textile labor as the groundwork for a lasting international union.

A permanent committee was immediately formed consisting of Sidney Hillman as Chairman and Thomas Kennedy as Secretary-

Treasurer. The United Textile Workers of America representatives were Francis J. Gorman* and Emil Rieve. The other persons on the committee were Thomas F. Burns* of the United Rubber Workers of America, Charles Zimmerman of the International Ladies' Garment Workers of America* and Charles Weinstein of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. These persons became the governing body of the textile workers' organization.

In a communication broadcast by Francis J. Gorman to all UTWA local unions, he announced the signing of the agreement. He heralded March 9, 1937, as "a day long to be remembered by Textile Workers." It marked, he said, the establishment of machinery for a membership drive for "a wage and hour contract for the 1,250,000 textile workers of the twenty-four states." For the first time in the history of "our organization we are in a position to tackle the job of organizing the textile industry with the needed driving power supplied by the CIO." He "strongly urged all of our local unions to enter into the spirit of this drive in the textile industry and to give active cooperation towards its successful accomplishment."

The official organ of the UTWA in the same tenor, reported: "We can win if we have the will and the determination to do so. If we all pull together and concentrate on organization. THE DRIVE IS ON."

* On March 15, 1939, Mr. Gorman was succeeded by George Baldanzi.
Mr. Burns was succeeded by Roy R. Lawrence.
Mr. Zimmerman was succeeded by Joseph R. White.

V.

TWOC Organization Drive — March to September, 1937

With fresh determination everywhere to get underway and with resources of manpower and funds enlarged by the Committee for Industrial Organization, Sidney Hillman, Chairman of the TWOC, lost no time in starting. After a week of consultation with the leaders of the United Textile Workers of America and outstanding leaders of textile workers and of the labor movement in the major textile centers, specific plans for the campaign were approved by a full committee meeting on March 19, 1937 in New York City, which authorized the Chairman to proceed to lay out the lines of the campaign.

The Keynote

The keynote of the campaign was an address to the workers and the industry by the Chairman. Calling for organization, the Chairman declared that "the textile industry was notoriously one of the lowest paying and most demoralized industries. Starvation wages, sweat shop conditions and cut throat competition have deprived hundreds of their right to security, opportunity and a decent standard of living."

These conditions, he pointed out, had brought chaos to the industry and had shackled the textile communities and regions to the handicaps of poverty. "Low textile wages have tended to keep down American wage standards generally," he declared. "They have restricted the purchasing power of millions and thus delayed the coming of real and lasting prosperity to our country."

Lack of union organization was at the root of these difficulties, he stated. The Textile Workers Organizing Committee was destined to correct this condition of chaos and demoralization by "building a substantial, effective and permanent organization for collective bargaining, which will be truly representative of the textile workers of the country."

TWOC, its Chairman indicated, was ready to avoid industrial strife if the organization was "met in a reasonable spirit by the employers and to establish the machinery for peaceful industrial relations on a lasting basis." Its goal was a "new day for the textile industry and for the millions of working people who depend upon it for their livelihood." The textile union was to be the lever for improving the lot of textile workers and for bringing order into the industry. Its course of action was to be education, organization, negotiation, union contract and responsible collective bargaining.

The Organization

The new organization immediately set itself to the task. Within three weeks after the signing of the contract, the new organization was well established, with eight regional directors selected from among textile and other labor leaders. The regional directors were: Hyman Blumberg for New England; Abraham Chatman for the State of New York; Carl Holderman for New Jersey; Charles Weinstein for the Middle Atlantic states; Reuben Block for Pennsylvania; John A. Peel for the Upper Southern states; A. Steve Nance for the Southern states and Frank Rosenblum for the Middle and Far West. Each region had its sub-regional offices. Thus, in New England, there were 17; in New York State, 10; in New Jersey, 7; in Pennsylvania, 18; in the Upper Southern states, 18; in the Deep South, 16; and 10 in the Middle Western and Far Western area. In all there were 96 sub-regional offices. There was hardly an important or significant textile center which did not have its TWOC representative working in and among textile workers.

To man this great organization, the TWOC had distributed a staff in excess of 650 people throughout the country. Some 500 people were directly on the payroll of the Textile Workers Organizing Committee. Of the remainder some 51 organizers were furnished by two textile federations and worked under the direction of the TWOC regional offices. The Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America assigned 60 organizers from their own staff for full or part-time service with the TWOC in various parts of the country. Other organizations, such as the ILGWU and the SWOC, also assigned aides for the TWOC drive. Then, shortly afterward, with the rapid growth of local unions the latter became strong enough to provide funds for 40 persons on their own payrolls.

This large group of organizers, the spearhead of the drive, consisted overwhelmingly of organizers on the staff of the United Textile Workers of America and recruits from the ranks of textile workers who had revealed the spark of leadership and the promise of ability.

TWOC Policies

New but mighty, the organization by the middle of April already exhibited the characteristics of a mature movement. By then, the TWOC had adapted its policies to capitalize the prevailing sentiment in favor of strong organization among textile workers. To enlist these workers, organizers employed a new and rapid educational program. This program was built around the slogan "Textile Workers! *Organize! Now's Your Chance! Join the Forward March of the CIO! To Happier Days!*" They accepted as their challenge: "What the steel and auto labor did, textile labor can do!"

Temporarily, to hasten the process of enrollment, dues payments required of new members were postponed until a union contract was signed for the particular mill. The new enrollee signed a "pledge card" designating the TWOC as his collective bargaining agent and empowering it to represent him. This method served to swing the movement through the country with all of the urgency that the passing prosperity made necessary and also served to prepare for immediate collective bargaining following the signing of the workers. The committee and the organizer, aided by regional directors and representatives of the national office, then proceeded to negotiate for a contract necessary for responsible collective bargaining. With the signing of the contract, the permanent local union was set up to enforce the terms of the contract, to defend the rights of the members, to improve their conditions of employment and finally to promote better contracts through future negotiations.

In addition to the primary task of developing general policies adapted particularly to the need for haste, the organization also designed campaigns for special areas. A campaign was launched in New England among the workers of the American Woolen Company plants at Lawrence, a particularly important link in this textile chain. In the same way, the campaigns for the carpet and rug, the rayon yarn and the silk and rayon throwing and weaving industries all were planned with care and infinite detail. The national organization placed information, literature, funds, and all its other resources at the disposal of its large staff to carry on these campaigns.

Factors Favoring Organization

Many factors, at the time, favored the heroic effort, quickly bringing positive results. Chief of these was the fact that the CIO was writing the brightest chapter in the labor history of the country. Its brilliant victories among the steel and automobile workers had made it a familiar by-word in the American language. With workers everywhere inspired by the tremendous improvements the CIO had obtained through union organization, workers began to feel that they could freely form unions.

Secondly, as a safeguard for this right and as a good omen to start the TWOC campaign, the Supreme Court confirmed the constitutionality of the Wagner Labor Relations Act. The action assured workers that their "right to join this great trade union movement which is sweeping the country has the approval of Congress, the President, the Voters, Labor everywhere and NOW THE UNITED STATE SUPREME COURT." Workers were informed that "company unions are out"; "your right to organize is protected by the government" and "employers must bargain collectively." This message, widely acclaimed, was warmly received, reviving and intensifying the spirit which had led millions of workers into the trade union movement in 1933.

In the third place, the new textile leadership and the massive organization behind them, with its vastly increased facilities, inspired confidence. It assured competent guidance for new recruits into the organization. At its helm were the very men who had led the steel, rubber and automobile workers to success. With them in the drive, textile workers realized they were being led by experienced labor men and negotiators, who knew well how to build an enduring organizational structure.

Fourthly, the antagonism of many employers diminished in the face of responsible union leadership. They accepted the word of the organization as its bond. Liberal employers, furthermore, endorsed the union's objective: a stable industry. Strikes, they believed, were wasteful. They knew that this retaliatory measure would be used only against those employers who had refused labor its just recognition and its rights under the law, particularly collective bargaining.

In the fifth place, the TWOC was a disciplined organization. The fact that discipline became the motto of the TWOC eased the union's way to victories.

The declining tempo of industry, however, darkened the horizon. TWOC had begun its work just as employment attained its peak. The union had to make its gains before the tide receded under the shadow of the oncoming recession.

Better Working Conditions Result

With the TWOC eagerly welcomed by workers, the response was so evident that employers in alarm sought to forestall it. Hurriedly they announced wage increases in the latter part of March. In the New England mills this wage raise of ten per cent, together with a previous increase in November and December, 1936, made a total pay increase of twenty-one per cent, all due to CIO effort and activity. A large group of firms which had resisted the general trend toward higher wages hastened, in the face of the union's triumphant progress, to raise the pay of their workers.

As a matter of fact, the entire textile industry raised wages, including the South. This marked the first time that the Southern textile manufacturers "voluntarily" increased wages. It had been, as a leading newspaper declared, "the custom (of the southern textile industry) to ignore labor movements until they definitely came home to them." But with the TWOC hailed by Southern Workers, the employers gave a ten per cent wage increase, as a defense againt unionism, or, as the newspaper put it, to make "their workers more satisfied." Concurrently, employers corrected many malpractices. Those who had reverted to an hours' schedule of more than eight a day and forty a week restored NRA standards hastily and thereafter observed them strictly. The mere announcement of a TWOC campaign served not only to improve wages but also to reestablish firmly NRA hour standards and working conditions.

Trade Union Agreements

The drive resulted in the signing of agreements with hundreds of concerns in the textile industry. Previously, unions had followed an uncertain pattern. On waves of revulsion against changes threatened or instituted by employers in wages, workload or conditions of employment or as the result of labor's demands for widespread improvements in conditions, workers had flocked into the organization. Subsequently, with the issues settled, favorably or unfavorably, and the workers back in the mill, all too frequently feeling for the union had withered and its following had dwindled. In such spontaneous outbursts unions arose and disappeared.

There had been little effort at establishing permanent collective bargaining. In the plants where organization had perished, the workers had maintained their influence largely through their economic pressure. As a general rule they exploited one or another issue to keep alive the cleavage with their employers. Union leaders, generally local in origin and restricted in influence, lacked national guidance. They were not always insistent upon complete organization of mills, relying primarily on organization of the key occupations. They were unable to gain union security through written agreements, which provide protection to workers and build a stable basis for collective bargaining. Unfamiliar with the elements of industrial unionism suited to American conditions, they also were checkmated by the unfriendliness of the American employers. As the result a genuine and permanent mass organization was not built.

The TWOC appreciating the need for developing a permanent basis of collective bargaining through union agreements, underscored the importance of loyalty to the union in active and dull periods so that collective bargaining might continue whether the mill was busy or slow. Stable bargaining relations, above all others, had proved a means for educating employers to the value of collective bargaining. For workers a stable pattern of collective bargaining inherently provided the continuous protection and security which they sought in the union. Informal relations, subject to much misunderstanding and sudden changes, afforded no basis for really constructive collective bargaining between the employer and the union. Neither the former or the latter could be held to promises or responsibilities. To correct this condition, the TWOC has insisted upon written agreements to clinch its every gain. These written agreements serve as the basis for a permanent structure of collective bargaining.

Agreements were signed from the very beginning with those

concerns where collective bargaining had been initiated. The union considered its preliminary organization efforts unfinished until such agreements were signed. Though the contracts did not always cover all the workers had anticipated, they represented the beginning of a process of permanent collective bargaining.

Chronologically, the union's first agreements were signed with such companies as the Schlegel Manufacturing Company, the Bigelow-Sanford Carpet Company, and the Louisville Textile Company. By the close of April, the sweep of the drive had been so broad that forty-three thousand workers were under agreement. This number jumped to 81,000 at the end of May. By the close of June the total was 97,000; by the close of July, 111,000; at the end of August, 147,000; and at the end of September, 155,000.

The September 3, 1937, conference of committee members, regional directors and leading organizers reported that the workers under contract, including those who were covered by contracts directly with the TWOC and those organized under the American Federation of Hosiery Workers and the Federation of Dyers, amounted to well over 215,000 workers.

The signing of these agreements fundamentally changed the industrial relations policies of the industry. Large sectors of it now were required for the first time to observe collective bargaining in all their relations with workers.

The TWOC victories were not restricted to special industries, individual concerns or segregated localities. Its influence spread everywhere. Agreements were signed with individual and small concerns as well as large chains. Some outstanding American textile corporations began at that time their history of genuine collective bargaining with the TWOC. As a case in point the union won an agreement with one of the leaders in the carpet industry, the Bigelow-Sanford Carpet Company, employing 6,000 workers. In the same way TWOC signed an agreement with the American Viscose Company, the outstanding rayon company in this country which employs 20,000 workers; the J. & P. Coats Company, employing some 4,000 workers in the manufacture of cotton thread; the Dallas Manufacturing Company, an outstanding cotton sheeting concern; Cheney Brothers, a silk and rayon company; the Munsingwear Company and the Utica Knitting Company, knit goods companies; Liberty Throwing Company; and the Leon Ferenbach Silk Company. Agreements also were signed with associations, among which were the Hat Band Silk Weavers of Paterson, New Jersey; Master Weavers Institute of New Jersey; the Textile Converters Association of America including the silk and rayon converters in New York City;* the Silk and Rayon Manufacturers Association and the Silk Commission Manufacturers Association of Paterson, New Jersey.

The sweep was nationwide. Contracts in the state of Rhode

Island alone covered well over 13,000 workers, while agreements were signed in most New England states. Such cities as Utica and New York City boasted of huge memberships and impressive organizations. New York State had some 25,000 workers under contract. Paterson, New Jersey, recorded its first complete organization. Philadelphia boasted of unions in most branches of the textile industry. The Pennsylvania districts outside of Philadelphia also were substantially represented. Together, these two districts in the state had 37,000 workers under contract. There were contracts for some 20,000 workers in the South, representing just the first impact of the TWOC on that section of the country. Agreements were signed in the Middle and Far West in such cities as Cleveland, Cincinnati, Toledo, St. Louis, Chicago, Minneapolis, Portland and San Francisco.

Contract Provisions

The benefits gained by the workers under the contracts were impressive. In addition to providing a stable base for collective bargaining and for union recognition, the contract provided secondly for the orderly handling of all grievances. The union members through the contracts gained protection against arbitrary employer action. In addition there were provisions outlining machinery for controlling seniority rights, equal distribution of work and promotions. These were remarkable innovations for an industry in which persisted the old attitude of bourbons, those who insist that none can question their right to dispose of their workers as chattels.

The eight hour day and forty hour and five day week were made universal. Wage increases of ten per cent or more were general. It is estimated that wage increases from TWOC contracts alone represented about $1,200,000 per week. In the contracts covering 50,000 workers TWOC secured one week's vacation with pay for the workers. While most of these were in synthetic yarn and carpet and rug companies, individual contracts as forerunners of a general movement in other industries contained similar vacation provisions. Other contracts established the principle of a two hour guarantee on pay for reporting to work.

Strikes for Recognition

Though the TWOC roused great enthusiasm in textile workers and met little forcible resistance from most employers, the union found it necessary to bring some individual employers in line before contracts could be signed. To learn the necessity for an agreement,

*This contract and the membership of this local was transferred to the United Wholesale Employees of America in 1937 as jurisdiction over this group was given by the CIO to that union.

the meaning of the law and the new rights of the workers, these employers required economic pressure. These struggles whether the union initiated them or was forced to undertake them, were carried through with determination to the end. The strike was supported, the workers defended, and every aid and facility provided to assure success. No strike was permitted to peter out. All but a very few were successful.

These significant struggles symbolize the determination of textile workers to achieve success and reveal their devotion to unionism and their belief in TWOC. Among the most outstanding of the sixty odd strikes which the union carried on during the period (except for those at the Industrial Rayon Company and other silk and rayon firms which this report treats separately) were those directed against the Firth Carpet Company, the Booth Company, the Malina Company, the Western Felt Company, the Mansfield Mills Company, the Edna Cotton Mills, the Bike Web Company, the American Thread Company of Dalton, Georgia, the Wister Spinning Company, the Cleveland Worsted Company and the Werthan Bag Company.

Of all the struggles, the most significant probably was the strike of August, 1937, in the silk and rayon throwing and weaving industry. This strike, preceded by thorough investigation and extensive planning, was completely effective, resulting in the establishment of union conditions and organization in the major portion of the silk and rayon industry of this company. Through its organizers assigned to all of the silk centers in New England, New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania, the union launched an educational campaign to build organization and to correct the intolerable conditions in the industry. A mighty movement was established. Then the union proposed to employers that contracts be negotiated on an industry-wide basis. Because this industry-wide proposal brought little response from employers, and resulted in several large New England and New York firms signing individual agreements to cover 14,000 workers, the union issued a strike call August 9, 1937 and announced its demands.

As one man, 35,000 silk rayon workers in some 600 plants unprotected by agreements stopped work. These plants in New York, New Jersey, New England and Pennsylvania were tightly shut down. In an industry which was so decentralized and chaotic, it was a stupendous feat.

Because the public through conferences and statements had been apprised of the issues, the strike enlisted wide support and sympathy. One large metropolitan daily newspaper declared: "Throughout the affected areas the strike was effective enough to close nearly all struck plants immediately simply by the issuance of a strike call and without resort to mass picketing . . . At present the silk and rayon industry is in a chaotic condition because of sweatshop competition. Its only hope for employers as well as workers lies in general unionization that will remove labor costs as the main competitive factor . . . Not only the far-sighted silk and rayon employers, but all far-sighted employers should sympathize with the objectives of the silk and rayon strike which is designed to return 30,000 economic exiles to our markets as purchasers."

Negotiations soon were started by a large group of silk and rayon manufacturers in New Jersey and the eastern part of Pennsylvania. By the end of the first week agreements were signed with the overwhelming group of employers and employees. Victory had crowned the strike.

Furthermore, the recalcitrant employers in the Wilkes-Barre and Hazelton areas who had held out with the hope that the strike would crumble during the second week were disappointed by the unity of the strikers. After a series of conciliation efforts, conferences finally were held under the auspices of Thomas Kennedy, at that time Lieutenant-Governor of Pennsylvania. Through careful negotiations carried on by Sidney Hillman, the strike was settled with an agreement for elections in the affected plants. These elections subsequently resulted in 18 victories out of 21, gaining for TWOC the right to represent 5,200 additional silk and rayon workers. At a later period, agreements were negotiated for these workers. Obviously the strike had served finally to dissipate much of the resistance to textile organization in the Pennsylvania silk and rayon area, which previously had stopped all union efforts.

This substantial victory, crowned by wage increases and important improvements in conditions of employment saved the industry from its own destruction in the subsequent recession. The workers, rescued from starvation conditions, gained a new dignity in the silk and rayon industry. By its victory, the TWOC had salvaged the branch of textiles which probably was the sickliest of them all, and had formed the basis for strong union organization. The two weeks strike, conducted on widescale proportions with a discipline unique in the textile industry, had written a new charter in textile history.

Just as characteristic of the TWOC thoroughness was the Industrial Rayon Company strike. Because of the company's effort to impose restraints on union workers and to evade its obligations to bargain collectively, a strike began in Covington on March 29, 1937. It was followed by the strike in Cleveland on May 17, 1937. In Covington, the 1,200 strikers faced injunctions, hostile local political and judicial officials, and home evictions. In Cleveland, the strike of 1,200 rayon workers suffered the same official repression as the steel strikers there.

After attempts at negotiations with the company had proved fruitless, TWOC filed charges against the firm with the National Labor Relations Board, particularly against its tactics in Cleveland

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After attempts at negotiations with the company had proved fruitless, TWOC filed charges against the firm with the National Labor Relations Board, particularly against its tactics in Cleveland

where it had fostered a company union. This resulted in a Board order for the disestablishment of the company union. In the meantime the daily picket lines and the support coming from the national office to the strikers in both communities maintained their high spirit.

In June, an agreement calling for an election followed the management's failure to secure an injunction in Cleveland. Despite the TWOC demand for a single combined election at the two plants, the NLRB arranged for separate elections in Cleveland and Covington on July 18, 1937. TWOC won in Covington with 639 votes for the union and 431 against; and lost in Cleveland by the narrow margin of 46 votes, with 423 votes cast for TWOC and 469 against. Three election results had followed a strike of fifteen weeks in Covington and of eight weeks in Cleveland. At the union's protest against the election in Cleveland, because the management had coerced the workers' vote against genuine unionism, the NLRB voided that election. The strike was continued until proper protection could be secured for the workers against discrimination in rehiring.

With the reopening of the plants in September, the workers received wage increases. Then the union marshalled its forces to protect the workers against other forms of discrimination.

Before the elections at the Covington plant, the strikers' resistance to the company's effort to rush strikebreakers through the picket line had resulted in charges against strikers of assault and contempt of an injunction. More than a hundred people were involved in the trials which started in July and ended in September, 1937. The national office of the TWOC provided counsel to fight the charges and to uphold the innocence of each case but the bias of local justice perverting an anti-lynch law into a strikebreaking device, ended with the conviction of seven men, each of whom received a four year sentence. Immediately TWOC put its might behind the fight for release, rousing the entire labor movement in Virginia. The miscarriage of justice brought general condemnation from the public press and a protest from the State Labor Commissioner. The union carried appeals against the convictions to the higher courts. When this petition failed, pardons granted by Governor Price of Virginia served to correct the unjust sentences.

The TWOC continuing its support of the strikers now has cases pending before the NLRB against the discrimination of the Industrial Rayon Company in Cleveland. A solid local, growing in Covington, Virginia, looks forward to a union contract. Because the TWOC placed its resources behind these rayon workers, to maintain organization in the face of great odds, spending in all more than $125,000 on their strike, it has earned its reward in the loyalty of the workers.

NLRB Elections

The TWOC's great following, its deep roots and its substantial progress are evidenced by a vast array of additional data which demonstrates how far the TWOC had progressed during the first six months of its existence. Contracts alone do not gauge the full extent of organization as it was not possible to reach the point of full understanding with all firms whose workers had flocked into TWOC. In many of them, it was neither possible nor desirable to force the issue through a strike. Therefore, evidence of the union's farflung advance can also be found in NLRB elections and in signed "pledge" cards.

By the end of September, TWOC had won elections in 51 out of 58 plants. All the elections involved 43,000 workers. Among the more important plants in which the union recorded victories, in addition to the silk and rayon industry are the Merrimack Manufacturing Company, the Lane Cotton Mills, the Alexander Smith Carpet Company and the Kent Manufacturing Company.

Topping all of these in significance was the victory at the Wood and Ayer Mills of the American Woolen Company, Lawrence, Massachusetts. This key firm had long been a barrier to unionism in the woolen and worsted industry. Previous attempts at organization of textile workers in Lawrence had been wrecked. The TWOC victory marked the dawning of a new day in the industry, and "Lawrence which had known industrial strife chose the road of orderly progress."

At the close of this first period contracts had not yet been signed for about 60 per cent of the employees in the companies where TWOC had gained sole collective bargaining rights through elections.

Pledge Cards

Besides this tangible public evidence of widespread support there were the pledge cards signed by workers in hundreds of other mills throughout the country. These numbered well over 100,000 concentrated principally in the Southern districts where the union faced greater resistance on the part of employers to collective bargaining. Many of these employers used every subterfuge at their command to fight the union and escape collective bargaining agreements even when the workers' sentiments were clear.

Summary

In the first six months TWOC established an impressive textile union, building it on a solid basis of mass participation and permanent collective bargaining. This it built from a movement characterized by weakness, by detached locals and by few agreements so

that it had lacked substantial roots as well as methods for implanting those roots permanently. TWOC by contrast constructed a strong foundation for organization in agreements with some 600 concerns covering some 215,000 workers who represented most areas and divisions of the industry. As a matter of fact, TWOC had organized several industries almost completely, breaking through two significant historic barriers to genuine organization in the silk and rayon firms of the coal areas of Pennsylvania on one hand and in the American Woolen Company on the other. It had conducted a national industry-wide strike, a model for thoroughness and effectiveness which brought impressive gains in its wake. It established the principle of stable collective bargaining in the textile industry. Its agreements, incorporating wage increases, raised working standards to new high levels, reduced hours, and insured security. Through the TWOC, the practice of a week's vacation with pay was introduced. Furthermore, in plants where there were no agreements employers generally resorted to an increase in wages in an effort to forestall unionism.

TWOC brought the message of liberation and freedom to textile workers throughout the country. Almost one third responded through direct membership. The workers, wanting unions, particularly desired responsible industrial unions led by the CIO. They heeded its call, flocking to it for support. As a result textile unionism mounted to unprecedented new levels. Membership, no longer transient assumed the characteristics of permanent association. Local unions of substantial proportions were established. Workers joined not merely to gain temporary advantages, but to mold a permanent union as their safeguard for continuous protection. In the face of rapid industrial change, the security and guidance offered by the union represented a real haven to them, bringing with it a new freedom to break old shackles and to challenge efforts to lower working standards.

VI.

Weathering the Depression — October 1937 to July 1938

In the oncoming recession of late 1937 and early 1938 the union faced its greatest test. With change of tide in the past, local textile unions had been known to grow up quickly and then to disintegrate. Within an industry characterized by poor pay for its workers, the new local organizations, because of their rapid growth, were unable to build up enough financial reserves to maintain themselves through lean times so that they faced the future with uncertainty. At the same time, the need for these local organizations mounted. They had been launched on a steady, sound keel, built to survive. But they had yet to be tested.

Handicaps of the Period

They were trying times for the locals as well as the organization. In the first place, its leader Sidney Hillman, suddenly was stricken in November, 1937. Devoted to the task of guiding the textile labor movement, he had exhausted himself in limitless work at the helm of the organization. Keenly the TWOC missed its pilot. At that time Emil Rieve, president of the American Federation of Hosiery Workers stepped into the breach to take over an increasing proportion of the responsibility for guiding the movement. He in turn was assisted by other leaders.

Secondly, the income from the local unions dropped sharply as unemployment claimed their membership and curtailed their own collections. As a result, the national organization had to assume a greater proportion of the burdens of the organization and the staff had to be reduced in size. The entire ten months of this second period presented anxious financial problems.

In the third place, business generally, and particularly in the textile industries, declined. This crisis unlike previous depressions hit the textile industries as hard as the other industries. Employment continued its decline through June, 1938. Available work was generally part-time.

In the fourth place, the national organization had to guide the organized workers to more enduring unions; to encourage them in the face of faltering hopes; and to cement them together to provide the groundwork for the permanent textile labor movement.

In the fifth place, the plans and activities of the staff had to be slanted rather toward bulwarking the enlarged organization than spreading it still further into new areas.

New Local Union Services

A new type of unionism evolved from the depression. The

organization no longer was embryonic, restricting itself only to the direction of shop problems and ignoring the problems of fellow workers in other industries throughout the country. The local union became the focus of the worker's social life as well as the agency for his complete protection.

In the shop, the union devoted itself to the maintenance of contracts and their strict enforcement. It brought back into line employers who tended to relax their observance of regulations. The locals assumed a careful watch over the methods used by employers to distribute work, and the order they followed in layoffs. The watch served to protect the rights of union members. It kept a check on wage scales against any attempt to pull them below the levels established by the agreements. In addition it served to ward off stretchouts.

As the depression deepened, the union found it necessary to instruct the membership in the causes of unemployment and in the functions of the union in time of stress. This helped to combat employers who either had attempted to convert distress of unemployment into discontent with the union or had launched company unions.

The local union as spokesman for the worker then enlarged its sphere from the plant to the entire community. To gain necessary relief, the local unions carried to authorities plans for greater appropriations. In the same way the locals took up cudgels against improper administration of WPA projects, fighting in each locality for enough projects to absorb the jobless, as well as for proper distribution of jobs. When unemployment insurance payments first were made in many states at the beginning of 1938, workers converged on their union halls to fill out their application blanks, and to get guidance and advice there. If benefit checks were late or held up, the union representatives pressed the state officials to untangle red tape and release the checks. By this type of service, in a host of fields, each local union developed close bonds with its membership, adopting its services to local conditions. The national office in turn guided, advised and represented local unions before the state and national bodies.

Fighting Wage Reductions

The union also faced the recurrent problem of every depression: namely, wage cuts. As in the past, employers were all too prone to seek a solution for their problems in wage reductions. In the textile industry which long had suffered the effects of keen competition and of price chiselers, of overcapacity, and of business chaos, when prices fell and employers, casting about for methods of lowering costs, tried to initiate wage cuts, the TWOC fought their every effort insisting that wage reductions would only deepen and prolong the depression. Its fight in textiles reflected the successful battle against wage cuts by the steel, automobile and rubber unions and by other organizations in the CIO. By preventing proposed wage cuts in individual mills, which formed the industry's first onslaught on the wage structure, the union held off pay reductions in the textile industries for many months. In December, 1937, with the industry deep in the throes of depression, the defense line still held strong and solid.

The breach of the New Bedford Textile Council in the Union's ramparts aroused a sharp reprimand, and suspension. The Council, in secret without consulting its membership or the national office had agreed to accept a pay cut of 12.5 per cent from the employers in the hope of harvesting business. They reaped only unemployment and lower wages. The TWOC suspended them from membership for their action.

A wave of wage reductions which they started went through all of New England, but TWOC's fight against cuts in the New England cotton mills was hampered by lack of organization in that branch of the industry. In the woolen and worsted industry of that region, by contrast, the union countered every effort to cut wages during January and February of 1938 with a strike. These attempted wage cuts were restricted to Vermont, New Hampshire and Maine. There the union called fifteen strikes against as many mills, bringing a restoration of the wage reductions in each of them. These strikes served to stop the wave of reductions for the time being in the whole industry.

In the South, the very presence of the TWOC halted reductions on the part of cotton manufacturers. In March 1938, their spokesman declared that a survey of the Southern employers showed "not the slightest inclination to reduce wages. None of the mills covered have reduced wages and none contemplates such a step. In fact they all were unanimous in the statement that Southern mills will probably not reduce wages."

In this history of the union's battle against reductions, the chapter written in the Bigelow-Sanford Carpet plants at Amsterdam, N. Y., and Thompsonville, Connecticut stands out as a highlight. The concern's attempt to put through a ten per cent wage reduction would, as past experience shows, have introduced cuts in the rest of the industry. The TWOC proposed negotiation, and if ncessary, arbitration of the issue, but the management, refusing to settle the dispute by peaceful methods declared any review of its decisions as presumptuous. The firm's high-handed tactics brought six thousand workers out of the mills on May 11, 1938. They stayed out for seven weeks before the strike was settled, demanding arbitration in lieu of arbitrariness.

Their discipline and the righteousness of their cause, in contrast to the firm's refusal to recognize its responsibilities to its workers, the communities and the country, evoked nation-wide

interest. The firm was boycotted everywhere. Carpet locals and other labor unions both in the TWOC and outside supported the strikers while the local communities helped to feed them. In both cities where public opinion favored the strikers, a citizens' committee headed by the two Mayors, attempted both to conciliate and arbitrate the dispute, but the firm refused. Finally, Governor Herbert H. Lehman of New York intervened to bring peace through an agreement for arbitration. The arbitrator's decision subsequently reduced a wage cut from ten per cent to five. The militant struggle served, at the same time, to set up strong unions in both cities, to inspire the carpet and rug workers in the rest of the nation, and to prevent wholesale reductions.

Wage Reductions in Textiles

The resistance to wage reductions in the woolen and worsted industry crumbled when Uxbridge Worsted Company initiated its ruinous policy. With little organization in that plant, the firm pushed through a cut, meeting virtually no opposition. The cut dragged others after it so that during the latter part of April and the early part of May, wage reductions in this industry were general. The TWOC appealed to the President of the United States and the Governors of the various New England states to halt these reductions, suggesting arbitration as the constructive way to solve the dispute, but the employers rejected it. The crisis intensified the need for bringing the union into each textile hamlet and city of the nation. It was apparent that only a wide scale organization could serve as foundation of a movement for restoration of wages.

In the meantime, the Southern cotton textile industry copying the New England cotton mills, launched wholesale reductions. Opposition to these reductions was difficult, as unemployment prevailed. On the other hand, throughout the nation in many mills where the union had won agreements, the workers as a result of union training managed to dike the flood of reductions. In some organized industries, such as rayon yarn and plush and velvet weaving, it served to protect the workers against the threat of cuts. This acted as a practical demonstration of the value of unionism.

NLRB Elections

Though the union in this period concentrated its efforts primarily on strengthening its ranks and solidifying its holdings, it nevertheless penetrated new territories, recording significant advances. Of these, the long list of election victories in the South bespeaking the progress of the southern organizing drive, were most important. In the ten months ending with July, 1938, the TWOC won 43 elections involving 23,000 workers and lost 19 elections involving 5,800 workers. Another election, in which the employers had blatantly interfered, earned the condemnation of the NLRB, and was voided at the union's request.

These elections in the midst of the depression provide a significant expression of the opinion of textile workers. Through these elections textile workers voiced in Texas, Louisiana, Alabama, North and South Carolina, Georgia, Virginia and Tennessee, the need for a genuine union and their belief in TWOC.

Union Agreements

Still it was difficult to convert these victories into signed pacts. Southern employers only recognized the victory as one step in the process of delay. In other sections of the country, organization had also been slowed up considerably. The new agreements signed during this period were culminations in the main of prolonged negotiations launched in the first half year of the TWOC campaign. The economic depression had restricted the possibilities of vast expansion.

By the end of 1937, the agreements TWOC had signed since its launching covered approximately 173,000 people. Within the next two months, TWOC had increased the total to 181,000. By the end of July the number had reached the grand total 190,000. Among the important companies which the TWOC brought under agreement during the latter ten months were the Duplan Silk Company, the Golden Belt Company, the Pacific Mills, and the Mount Vernon-Woodberry Mills.

Summary

In that period the union focused its efforts on renewing and improving agreements which had been signed during the first six months of the campaign. Attacks from many quarters against these agreements tested the mettle of the organization more even than the hostility to unionism in new areas. The union, in guarding its agreements and in bettering them, built up a remarkable record. As a matter of fact, the TWOC despite the ravages of depression, suffered relatively few losses in agreements. To do this, in many instances the union was forced to call strikes. These strikes served to convince the employers that the TWOC would neither permit breaches of contract nor accept the depression as a valid excuse for evading the provisions of agreements. Most losses were due to business failures or plant liquidations. The union lost only a few agreements in important mills.

In these mills the union marshalled its forces to maintain organization. All through this period, the workers in turn have ranked themselves solidly behind the TWOC in its effort to uproot the company unions set up by employers to ensnare their employees in a net of fear and intimidation. As a result the TWOC will gain renewals of contracts in these mills. The TWOC has managed in most of the renewed contracts to win significant improvements.

VII.

Developing the Permanent Organization — August 1938 to the Present

The union devoted itself in the period beginning with August of 1938 to the task of building a permanent structure on the sound framework of the organization. The foundation for this framework, established in the organization drive of 1937, survived.

By implanting organization firmly in a large sector of the industry the union already had procured for the nation a textile labor movement. Furthermore, the future promises still greater reward as the union extends into new areas, nurturing a new series of healthy, strong and active local unions. That task was, and is, large.

TWOC must still gain entry into some areas. In others, though TWOC had gathered a mass of followers, or, still more, had won contracts, the hostility of employers nevertheless had forced it to fight for its existence. Furthermore it needed still deeper and stronger roots, and, in addition, thicker ramparts in its defenses at the weak points exposed by the depression.

As it brought more and more textile areas under its banner, building within them effective unions, the organization has garnered strength for even further expansion, launching new organization drives, adding new departments and instituting new services for its locals. All these innovations in turn enabled the locals to broaden their services and activities and to meet in greater degree the needs of the members. The stronger status of the union today permits it to introduce still more of these vital services, while the future promises yet greater activity in this field. On the other hand, these benefits may come only in proportion to the union's increase in strength, membership and influence. They depend as well on the inherent security of the locals. In the same way, these factors of strength, membership, influence and security will gear the union's machinery for improving conditions of its members, on the one hand and for correcting evils of the industry on the other.

The months following August of 1938 have not favored a widespread extension of union organization. With this whole period characterized by slow economic improvement, the near future, furthermore, promises little economic reassurance. Though the wool industry has registered marked gains, the cotton textile and silk and rayon weaving industries revealed but moderate increases, periodically suffering recessions in both business and prospects. With European turmoil disturbing business here, capital in this country has been inactive instead of flowing freely in adjustment to the new economic epoch.

Overcoming Oppostion to Textile Unions

The TWOC has faced still other challenges in addition. Unfortunately, not all of these originated with employers. Nevertheless, the TWOC has been victor in virtually every instance.

Huntsville, Alabama, provides the most outstanding case. The organized textile workers of Huntsville, conducted a courageous struggle for more than a year, pitting themselves against a series of mills and an entire city in the control of hostile employers. The employers, in an effort to crush the workers, had shut their mills for over twelve months, and more than that, had unearthed all forms of intimidation. They set up "Local Citizens Committees" to terrify the workers and launched "Save Huntsville Days." The local police acted as their brutal agents. Using evictions and even hunger as their weapons, the employers tried to break the spirit by sheer violence. Against these terrific odds, the textile workers of Huntsville persevered until they won, victory finally crowning their success with union contracts.

The Dallas Manufacturing Company, one of the Huntsville firms, after closing down in November of 1937, tried unsuccessfully several times to resume operations in March of 1938, succeeding only when it signed a contract. During the dispute, Alabama's Governor, Bibb Graves, counselling a settlement, staunchly refused to serve as a strikebreaker, and denied the firm's request for troops. With aid for these strikers secured by the TWOC locally, and help for their families obtained from the State Welfare Department, and from the WPA, the strikers fought off every back-to-work movement. Finally, after the agreement was signed on October 12, 1938, providing for sole collective bargaining, for protection to the workers against mistreatment, and for arbitration, the mill opened.

The saga of Huntsville does not end with the conflict at the Dallas Manufacturing Company. Though the workers at the Merrimac Mills had designated the TWOC as their collective bargaining agent, the company tried to undermine the union's influence and position. Ignoring the results of the 1937 election at the plant, the firm challenged the union's right to represent its workers and then instigated a unique form of coercion, applied through house leases. Provisions of the leases, conceding to the management full control over the social and community life of the tenants and of their families, seriously jeopardized the workers' rights to bargain collectively. Because their breadwinners refused to sign these leases, 25 of the Merrimac families were evicted from their homes. Another 50 families, in fear of wholesale evictions, left the village.

The firm's ruthlessness provoked condemnation from the Conference of Human Welfare of November, 1938 in Birmingham, Alabama. In the meantime, the TWOC provided aid and shelter for the homeless families, eliciting from the strikers such intense loyalty

that in the plant election on October 24 the workers, defying their baronial employers, voted for the TWOC by a handsome majority. To cap this victory, the TWOC won its first signed agreement with the company on December 3, 1938. A month later, after a year's idleness, the plant reopened.

Then TWOC brought into the fold Lincoln Mills, the third important mill in Huntsville. Through their spirited struggle the workers had converted Huntsville from medievalism to modernity. Today it hums under the protective banner of the TWOC. There extensive activity of the local unions foretells a constructive future for workers and for the community.

Other instances of heroic action served as the prelude to employers' recognition of collective bargaining. Among these was the strike at the Hightstown Rug Company in Hightstown, New Jersey. There a seven weeks' strike, winning a preferential shop, stopped all wage reductions and guaranteed standard union conditions in the carpet and rug industry.

The employers, in other instances, instigated the creation of company unions. Against this flank attack, the TWOC ranked its militant organization, strengthening those local unions which had seceded during the depression and destroyed the company unions. These cases include the Oneita Knitting Company in Utica, New York; the Atlas Underwear Company in Richmond, Ohio; the Firth Carpet Company in Firthcliffe, New York; the Evenson and Levering Company in Trenton, New Jersey; the Crawford Manufacturing Company in Richmond, Virginia; and Gudebrod Brothers Silk Company in Stowe, Pennsylvania. In still other instances the union halted the disruptive tactics of dissident labor organizations.

Strengthening the Staff

Because he had proved unworthy and faithless to his pledges, Joseph Sylvia was released in Rhode Island. When another joined him in secret, abandoning his duty, his resignation, too, was requested. These dismissals created but temporary local disturbances. Now the movement in Rhode Island is being rebuilt on a sounder basis. Incompetent management and indifference to workers' interests had left nothing in the Rhode Island agreements signed during the first six months of TWOC's drive except sheets of paper. The union therefore drafted new and responsible leadership to revitalize the movement in the State. These men command widespread respect. They are constructing sound trade unions. Already they have registered significant gains.

In some sections of the country, the union remodelled its organizational pattern to increase the effectiveness of its staff. In New England, for example, the union divided a region too large to supervise effectively into five different state divisions. In the same way, the organization selected able representatives for the new areas and

repatterned the duties of other members of its staff to gain still greater success in its organizing campaign. Of these changes, one of the most important was the amalgamation in the deep South of two organizing staffs. There the Southern representatives of the hosiery workers federation and of the TWOC were welded together under unified leadership to permit still greater service by these capable leaders.

New Agreements

By perfecting the character of the organization and of its personnel and by countering the hostility of destructive employers and of disruptive individuals as well, the TWOC has increased its influence and its territory. Despite the impediments of poor economic conditions in the industry, the TWOC in the most recent period has gone into new areas, implanting itself more deeply in many branches of the textile industry. The organized sector of the industry has grown. As a signpost heralding a new area for labor relations in Maine, the TWOC won signed agreements with employers there. Since July of 1938, the union obtained 153 new agreements representing some 37,000 workers. These new contracts contain significant advances.

The new agreements include the union's most significant advance in the woolen and worsted industry. This was the agreement with the American Woolen Company for 13,000 workers in Lawrence, Massachusetts; Dover, New Hampshire; and Skowhegan, Maine. Among the other important companies brought under contract by the TWOC, are the Atlantic Woolen Company in Stottville, N. Y.; the Lafayette Cotton Mills; Orr Felt and Blanket Company; Mount Vernon-Woodberry Mills of Baltimore; Western Felt Works; Standard Coosa Thatcher Company of Rossville, Georgia; the Hightstown Rug Company and the Merrimack Manufacturing Company. Among its group contracts the TWOC boasts a uniform contract for the bias binding industry of New York City. This is now completely organized. With the rate of newly signed agreements on the increase, the number will mount still further as business improvements bring new agreements among concerns whose workers are well organized.

In addition to gaining new contracts, the TWOC succeeded in restoring active and free collective bargaining in some plants where the depression had precipitated the employers' resistance to organization. The Dallas Manufacturing Company is a case in point and the Fort Schuyler Knitting Company another. That plant came back to the fold after an election victory resulted in a substantial TWOC majority. In the case of the Hettrick Manufacturing Company of Toledo, Ohio, and Goshen, Indiana, a successful strike brought substantial improvements in the agreement and at the same time checked efforts to transfer work to other plants. The union,

furthermore, has launched active campaigns in all plants where agreements had lapsed in order to gain agreements and develop strong local unions. This objective forms a prominent part of the TWOC program. In these plants as well, a favorable turn of business will serve to restore most of these agreements.

During the last several months the union consistently has molded improvements into its renewed contracts. This has been a product of interlocking factors. For one thing, the locals had been building firmer foundations under the guidance of the National office. For another, they had proved their value. For a third, they had exhibited responsibility and discipline. As a result they had the power to win concessions in their agreements.

All this combined to remove many of the old difficulties in mill relations. Workers gained greater rights in reviewing and passing upon changes in machinery and work assignments. They secured reporting time guarantees. They won better grievance machinery. They obtained better seniority and work distribution plans. They defined hours of work, shop practices, and methods of wage payment to prevent abuses. Furthermore, the relations helped to clarify for employers the workers' and the union's point of view generating a mutual confidence. This in turn smoothed the process of settling grievances and of solving problems. In the final analysis it stabilized collective bargaining.

Workers have turned increasingly to the continuous protection proffered by the union and provided in its agreements. Needing the union to improve conditions whenever opportunity favors their efforts, the workers are determined to maintain organization. Coupled with their growing resolve to make securer the position of the union, renewed agreements have gained broader recognition for unions in the mill. Agreements with sole collective bargaining provisions have generally been succeeded by preferential shop, union shop and closed shop clauses. The union has become the permanent agency for handling the workers' problems, for presenting their views, and for providing the fullest possible expression of their interests. The increased security of the union has become an end in itself.

With the broadening functions and the increasing permanency of the union, the workers have accepted more widely their financial obligations and through their agreements have established the principle of union membership as a prerequisite to preference in employment or to jobs in the mill. The improved contracts have been particularly important in promoting stable unions, in meeting economic and technological change, in assuring greater protection and security for the workers, and in supporting stronger and far more extensive organization drives. They have made it possible to build a stronger, self-supporting international union of textile workers.

Improving Working Conditions

In its growth and increasing strength, TWOC also has directed its efforts toward raising standards in the industry. Working conditions, beset by the depression, had suffered. As a matter of fact, the textile industry was one of the few American industries to undergo wage reductions. In other major American industries strong resistance had excluded wage slashes but in textiles the chaotic competitive conditions and limits of organization had depleted resistance. The TWOC nevertheless was able to prevent the reductions in some industries and delay them in others.

As its goal the TWOC has set restoration of the wages reduced during the last depression. Toward that end the union has launched preliminary efforts in organized cotton centers to eliminate the cuts. It is pressing for the same thing in negotiations with the woolen and worsted industry. It has informed carpet and rug employers, furthermore, of its plans to set aside the reductions. The union anticipates success in this venture since individual plants and some districts, particularly in the silk and rayon throwing and weaving industries already have awarded increases.

As a part of its effort to advance conditions of textile labor, the TWOC ranked all its forces behind the Federal Fair Labor Standards Act. It helped to promote the proposed law and then pressed for its enactment. Since its adoption, the TWOC has argued for the approval of textile wage-floors as close as possible to the 40 cent hourly minimum.

Extending National Services

With the experience of its first one and one-third years behind it the union has sought, through extending its scope, influence and power, ever more fully to meet its responsibilities and obligations to its members. TWOC has developed beyond the stage of self-defense as its primary concern. With the locals firmly established, the union now may direct its energies into other channels. To make the locals more effective, to perfect their systems for solving problems and to increase their services to the members, the national office increased it personnel and designed new patterns of activity. These innovations serve to coordinate the activities of the locals and organizations. They aid as well in negotiations, and help the locals to solve problems.

On one side the union increased its legal and research facilities. On another, it both expanded the variety and the amount of literary matter for the local unions. Hitherto the mimeographed "TEXTILE WORKERS ORGANIZING COMMITTEE NEWS LETTER" had been the main medium of communication. Now the TWOC in its eight-page "TEXTILE LABOR" has a newspaper as its official organ. The publication first appeared in February of 1939. In the

same way, the union sends out leaflets describing all sorts of issues. Recent pamphlets, as a case in point, deal with the new Wage and Hours Act. A full description of these activities is reserved, however, for a later chapter on the National Office.

To meet the varying problems of the separate branches of the industry the TWOC developed several methods. It instituted a mimeographed publication for each of the major divisions. These include "Cotton Notes," "Rayon Yarn Notes" and "Woolen and Worsted Notes". The union plans still others. Each of these contains specific information of the industry and goes to the locals within that division. Industry conferences, called periodically to bring together the workers of each division of textiles, serve in still greater capacity to meet special problems.

VIII.

TWOC Progress in Individual Industrial and Geographic Areas

TWOC's progress during the last two years stands out distinctly against the background of the past. In the old days, flurries of organization all too frequently petered out. Disillusionment and sacrifice instead of a permanent organization, followed these sporadic waves of expansion. Often they left in their wake little but a nucleus of devoted workers. The latter, clinging to their faith in organization, anxiously awaited responsible leadership to guide the construction of a permanent organization.

The TWOC in contrast, built endurance into its organization. Its very solidity evoked an abiding faith in the principles of unionism. Furthermore, it carried organization to new frontiers, enlisting masses of recruits. At the same time, as the culmination of its persistent and successful efforts to evolve strong locals from weak embryos, it won union contracts. Hostile employers, finding the union a strong adversary, gave up their costly, fruitless battle against collective bargaining. The union, in that way, substituted rational industrial relations for the old pattern of strife and irresponsible "militancy". As a result, the union infused endurance into the organization in contrast to fleeting trade union enthusiasm or benefits succeeded by repression.

On its strong foundations, the union now must construct a mighty citadel of organization. This citadel will bring protection to unorganized textile workers. On it depends the future of millions of textile families and the fortune of the industry as well.

Facets of the problem complicate the union's task. These facets, conditioned by the habits and prejudices of each textile locality in the nation, are peculiar at the same time to the nature of the separate divisions within the industry. Some, sunk in the past, represent vestiges of local history. Others are intrinsic within each industry. For these barriers, the union has designed special and appropriate techniques. As a case in point, there are old prejudices in some sections against collective bargaining. As another, in branches of the industry, there is a bourbon rejection of the workers' right either to cooperate in improving work conditions or in rehabilitating the industry.

Trade Agreements and Following in the Industry

This, the first convention of the rebuilt textile workers organization, can look with pride on its record of achievement. It had inherited an insignificant group of 25 agreements in the textile

industry, excluding those of the hosiery and dyeing branches. From that nub, the union built up an organization boasting 520 active contracts for 612 companies employing approximately 177,000 persons. Today in all its divisions, the TWOC has a total number of 858 active contracts in 950 firms employing 235,000 workers. An additional total of 59 other contracts for 6,300 persons, signed by the TWOC lapsed only because the concerns went out of business. Still another group of contracts for 3,500 workers in outlying industries, as international unions were established for them, has been transferred to affiliates of the Congress for Industrial Organization.

These mills under agreement tell but part of the story. In many others the TWOC has won sole collective bargaining rights. There no specific contracts have been signed either because negotiations are still pending or union strategy counselled postponement, but the TWOC acts nevertheless as bargaining agent. Of the 68 companies which operate under such informal relations, 45 employing 30,000 workers granted TWOC sole collective bargaining rights after NLRB elections. As a product of organization. TWOC won recognition as bargaining agents in an additional 23 mills employing 9,000 workers. These mills, in which the TWOC is collective bargaining agent total 68 in all and employ 39,000 workers.

In addition to this vast number of workers, an additional 100,000 textile workers in all parts of the country have flocked into the union, selecting it as their bargaining representative. These workers are employees of mills in almost every district of the textile industry. In these mills the TWOC now is setting up organization. These workers form the vanguard for the hundreds of thousands who will follow when TWOC brings their mills under contract, and establishes stable collective bargaining.

Industrial Trends

While the following discussion treats of the separate divisions as problems still differ markedly, it is well to note that innovations of fibres, methods of production and fabric construction serve increasingly to erase the boundaries among the separate divisions of the industry. The older demarcations still persist, but it is significant that mills are being more and more described by the fabrics they produce rather than by the fibre they use.

Synthetic Yarn

TWOC has played an outstanding part in the synthetic yarn industry, the youngest and the most rapidly expanding industry of the textile group. No longer limited to rayon, a cellulose product, synthetic yarns today are fabricated from such materials as chemicals, glass and casein. This, the most modern of the textile industries, consists of seventeen companies, employing some 55,000 perons.

In nine of these companies, employing two-thirds of the industry's workers, the TWOC has established sole collective bargaining relations. With their wage levels higher comparatively than others in the textile industries, the rayon workers gained in the TWOC contracts, a week's vacation with pay and protection against the great risk of technological displacement. The TWOC in one chain of six plants won a single preferential hiring list, ensuring for displaced workers first choice for jobs in any of the old or newly opened plants. With their contracts in the smaller concerns providing either for closed or preferential union shops, the rayon locals all plan to win like protective provisions in their contracts with the larger firms.

The Union's adamant resistance had protected rayon workers from wage reductions, infusing them with courage to seek improved conditions and higher wages in the plants whose standards were below the general level. Furthermore, the strength of the organization permits them to bargain for at least some share of the unique profits their work had produced. To harvest complete unionization of this industry, the union is conducting organization drives in all the small and in several of the larger concerns. These, include the Industrial Rayon unit in Cleveland and the Tennessee Eastman plant as well.

Carpets and Rugs

The TWOC has just as bright a record in a textile division with half as many workers. This is carpets and rugs. In this industry, the TWOC contracts serve as controls over working conditions. The wages developed under the contracts prevail throughout all the mills. Three concerns in the Middle Atlantic States employ approximately 55 per cent of the industry's workers.

Focussing much of its organizing effort on this industry, the TWOC has unionized three-quarters of it. The locals are growing in prestige and strength. Philadelphia now is completely organized. The union contracts won by the TWOC in most of the smaller plants instituted a week's vacation with pay, guaranteed pay for reporting time, and provided other types of protection for the workers. To gain recognition, the union was compelled to call two strikes in this industry, one against the Firth Carpet Company and the other against the Hightstown Carpet Company. At the Bigelow-Sanford Carpet Company, the union conducted still a third strike to win genuine collective bargaining and to contest a proposed ten per cent reduction. Through an arbitrator's decision, the union halved the reduction to five per cent. Its action served to safeguard the rest of the industry from drastic cuts. Now, the workers and the union behind them, are demanding restoration of the five per cent cut. As a result of the union's activities one firm has reinstated the week's vacation with pay.

The union has faced bitter hostility in the large Mohawk Carpet Company, virtually the last barrier to complete organization in this industry. There the vigilance of the TWOC served to abolish two company unions. The third, rising in their place, has been exposed by the union as well. It has requested the NLRB to outlaw the impostor organization. In addition to directing a campaign against this stronghold of anti-unionism, the union has strengthened several of its carpet and rug locals to parry the employers' subversive tactics. By interchange or information moreover, it has raised working standards in the industry to a higher level.

Woolens and Worsteds

The union has conducted a concerted drive in the mills of the woolen and worsted industry, the bulk of which is concentrated in New England. There are other wool centers in New Jersey and Pennsylvania and scattered mills in the South as well as in the Middle and Far West. The union's efforts were pointed particularly at several large companies including the American Woolen Company, the Stevens Chain and the Uxbridge Worsted Company. The titans employ forty per cent of the nation's woolen workers.

The union succeeded finally in winning over the largest of them all, the American Woolen Company which signed four contracts for half its employees. In the other units of the chain the union is now conducting a similar drive to create a wide basis for collective bargaining, and to use this basis as the stabilizing factor within the industry.

In this effort to organize the woolen industry, the union has included the smaller and middle-sized concerns as well. It has harvested, through its drive, 38 contracts in the woolen and worsted plants, covering 39,500 employees. Of all the large centers, Philadelphia is best organized.

First of the union's present objectives for the industry is the recall of the 10.0 to 12.5 per cent wage reduction. Toward that end, the union is resolved to organize the non-union mills. These mills had acted in the Spring of 1938 as the opening wedge for wage reductions. In the same way, they will serve as the key to restorations. The future promises a rich reward for the unity which, through industry conferences and special industry committees, the union created for woolen and worsted workers for the first time in their history.

Silk and Rayon Industry

Of all the TWOC's accomplishments, the singular record in the Northern silk and rayon throwing industry stands out as most constructive. This industry, composed of 950 plants employing approximately 160,000 workers throughout the entire country had

known all the abuses of exploitation, starvation wages, intolerably long hours, unsanitary conditions, uncertain pay, and industrial peonage. All this, through its organization drive, the TWOC converted to decency and order, raising standards to a higher level.

The drive, coupled with a widely supported strike, won for the TWOC contracts in most of the leading northern factories. The Union also obtained contracts in the major proportion of the smaller, as well as of the smallest concerns. It now represents over 50 per cent of the workers in the industry. Paterson, New Jersey and Easton, Pennsylvania literally are one hundred per cent organized. The union has served to stabilize wages and working conditions in the industry. It sterilized the industry's sore-spots. As a result, some 400 infamous "bedroom shops" have disappeared in the city of Paterson. Outstanding silk and rayon companies of the coal counties of Pennsylvania are organized, enabling the union to face changing and serious problems in this industry.

Though wages still are low, they have improved markedly. With uniformity introduced into the industry by the TWOC contracts, a good part of the vicious bidding has disappeared. To seal its effort, TWOC has made a special point of completing the drive in several Pennsylvania centers. The strike of 1937 had swept away the major barriers of resistance to organization. Remnants of that resistance still persist in spots. There the union is strengthening its forces.

The union is directing a special campaign to bring several sections of the silk and rayon industry entirely into the organization. Its drive in the jacquard silk and rayon industry took on fresh vigor with the renewal of its industry-wide agreements in New Jersey. This agreement with the Master Weavers Institute of New Jersey, covering jacquard silk and rayon weavers of Paterson, provides among other things for a union label. This innovation is being followed carefully as a precedent for other industries. In the same way, the union is conducting a campaign to carry organization throughout the ribbon industry. It is working to convert unorganized plants in the woven label industry to unionism.

Northern Cotton Textiles

In the same manner, the union is extending organization into the cotton industry of the North which is relatively smaller than the Southern industry. With organization in both the Fall River and New Bedford and with still other contracts in individual plants outside these cities, the TWOC since August of 1938 has extended its organizing action into the Maine cotton centers. In addition it has carried the organization into isolated mills of the area. These mills, from all indications soon will join union ranks. As a specific instance, the workers of the Naumkeag Steam Cotton Company wel-

comed the union with enthusiasm, regarding it as their only safeguard.

Velvet and Plush

Throughout the plush and velvet industries, the TWOC now boasts of contracts with a large number of employers. The TWOC contracts in eight velvet plants represent sixty per cent of that industry, while in plush, the union's 17 organized mills embrace 45 per cent of that industry. Its vigorous organizing drive against the Sidney Blumenthal Company of Shelton, Connecticut finally was crowned with a three to one victory in an election. The stimulus of this victory will be reflected in a fresh drive on other unorganized plants.

Other Industries

In the cordage and rope industry, the TWOC has contracts with seven concerns employing about 2,000 workers. Furthermore, the union is channelling its organization drive into outstanding companies. In New York City virtually all of the bias binding industry and of the umbrella industry as well, are organized. Several of the larger companies in the knitting industry are organized. Other knitting firms in the Southern states will be brought within the fold as the result of the Southern organizing drive. With 28 agreements for 4,500 workers in the textile bag industry, the union is waging a campaign to unionize the three large chains of this industry.

Hosiery

The American Federation of Hosiery Workers have made marked gains since the last convention. At that time they had a total of 40 verbal agreements in the full-fashioned industry, 13 commercial finishing agreements and six seamless agreements. The hosiery workers since then have multiplied their membership. This was a product in part of a new policy: the writing of district as well as of national agreements for the remainder. It was a result of the union's fundamental character and of a spirited organizing drive. As an industrial union, embracing every productive worker in the hosiery industry, the Federation, through a tremendous organizing drive from March to July of 1937, won new members by the thousands. The Reading strike which culminated years of organizing effort, broke down the long outstanding barrier to unionism in the North and made a union center of this area.

The vigorous organizing drive of the hosiery workers centered around some 79 strikes involving 28,437 workers in the mills of all Berks country, of Philadelphia, and of various Mid-Western and Southern hosiery centers. The drive brought the union more power.

It emerged with agreements throughout Philadelphia, Bucks, Montgomery and Berks counties of Pennsylvania, winning agreements as well in other districts of the Keystone State, and in the Mid-West and South.

By May of 1938 when the Federation held its last convention, the hosiery workers had 208 agreements, including 153 in the full-fashioned industry, 15 in the seamless industry, 36 in the commercial finishing industry, and four in miscellaneous sections of the industry. In most instances, these contracts provided wage increases of five to forty-four per cent bringing the full union rate in many cases. With closed shop contracts almost universal, the union had a hundred per cent organization in such full-fashioned centers as Philadelphia, Milwaukee and North Jersey, and 80 per cent organization in Reading and South Jersey. The union controls standards in this industry as few other unions do in America. In the seamless industry it completely organized Milwaukee and South Bend, Indiana, and launched drives to organize seamless workers in Lowell, Massachusetts; Norristown, and Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. The commercial finishing industry is completely unionized. The Federation has additional agreements in hosiery mills of Indiana, Michigan, Massachusetts, Iowa, North Carolina, Kentucky and Maryland.

The hosiery workers have joined their Southern forces with the TWOC staff there to carry on an organization drive. As a result the hosiery organization now reaches its roots firmly into 152 hosiery mills of the South. The resistance of employers forms the major difficulty faced by both the hosiery workers and by the TWOC.

The recession of last year brought serious problems for the hosiery workers. The employers' request for a wage reduction, which went to arbitration, was upheld in the decision. On the other hand, to meet the problems of Southern competition, and to modernize equipment in organized plants, the hosiery workers through plant agreements provide the method for supplanting old machines with new installations. Now the hosiery workers are concentrating their organizing efforts on the Mid-Western and Southern mills.

Dyeing

In the silk and rayon dyeing industry, the Federation of Dyers, Finishers, Printers and Bleachers of America have made significant progress. They have renewed their agreements in the city of Paterson and other New Jersey and New York areas and have maintained their wages and working conditions despite immense pressure. With the cooperation of the National Office of the TWOC, the basic agreement was renewed this last year with significant advances in the control of workload. The union label has now been established in the industry and is operating quite successfully. Additional mills have been unionized during the last two years, particularly in the

lacquer and screen printing industries. An organizing drive in New England resulted in further advances in that area. This industry is becoming more and more stabilized through the union's active campaigns and progress. Organizing drives in the major non-union centers are constantly extending the union's boundaries.

TWOC itself is making advances in the organization of cotton finishing plants as well as many important dyeing and finishing departments of the larger integrated companies in the silk and rayon weaving industries.

The South

In the Northeastern states, organization activity is pointed today against a stubborn residue of resistance in individual concerns and in isolated localities. Old ghosts of fear, left by the defeats of the past, persist in these localities, impeding organization by the TWOC. On the other hand, the majority of textile workers are convinced of the new organization's permanence. In it they seek freedom from fear, guidance and assistance. It is the union's task to furnish leadership.

The problem in the Southern states has an utterly different character. There the union helps to reeducate an entire section of the country. The "New Deal" program has planted the seed for a more liberal South. The TWOC and the entire Southern labor movement have joined to cultivate these seedlings in order to reap a really liberal industrial society, founded upon free collective bargaining. In assuming this responsibility, the TWOC is furthering the interests of more than one-third of the textile workers of this country. These workers principally are employed in the cotton textile industry although the rayon processing and weaving, and the knitting industries both are absorbing an increasing number.

The TWOC has made impressive progress. Though the number of union contracts is small, 27 in all for 27,000 persons, the TWOC has won elections in 60 additional plants employing 40,000 workers. Moreover, pledge cards have been signed by well over 85,000 more workers in 641 plants. This record is significant. It confirms the conviction of union leaders that Southern workers can be organized. Just as eager as the Northern industrial workers for the teaching of labor, the Southern workers, in the main, had been denied the privilege before the advent of the TWOC.

In the South, more than in any other section, the textile worker suffers low wages, undernourishment, poor housing, inadequate education, and other deficiencies. The gains which have come to other workers in our American industry have trickled down little, if at all to the Southern textile workers. The system has brought them virtually nothing but suffering, and at the same time permitted no collective action to better conditions. But the American labor scene has changed in the last six years and these changes have stirred

and quickened the Southern worker as they have workers elsewhere.

Handicapped not only by poverty, but by artificial barriers against the exercise of this political power (such as poll taxes and similar restrictions on the right of suffrage), the Southern worker could not overcome the odds against him. Changes in our economic and political life in recent years have broadened his horizon and increased his range of interests. He now knows that he is entitled to a richer and fuller life. He has come to realize that the salvation of his entire area is bound up in the improvement of his own lot. As these beliefs spread new roots, the protest of Southern workers increase. And the message of unionism reaches a broader field.

There is now a deeper understanding of the union movement which speaks well for permanent organization. In the past the Southern protest had taken the form of sporadic outbursts against unbearable conditions. Workers resented the semi-feudal system in which they labored and lived, resented the control exercised over their lives at work and at home. Sometimes they rebelled against long hours, exhausting work-loads and low wages, only to have their fight for greater freedom and opportunity crushed.

Everywhere in the South signs of a permanent textile union are multiplying. Though they still lack organizational experience, Southern workers rapidly are learning how to maintain and sustain labor unions. They have deeper knowledge of their rights under the law to secure standards closer to the vaunted "American standard of living". They know workers in other sections of the country enjoy these standards and that it is possible for Southern workers to gain them as well. Strong unions, they realize, will go far in changing the South from the nation's "Economic Problem No. 1" to an economic hope for new domestic markets.

To spread this message of unionism and crystallize the changing attitude of Southern workers into permanent unions, the TWOC assigned a staff of 154 persons, headed by John A. Pell in the Upper South and by A. Steve Nance in the Deep South. But it was the union's misfortune to lose Steve Nance. He was the South's outstanding leader of labor and liberal thought. He had served labor throughout his life at his various posts as a member of his individual union, as president of his local, as Vice-President of the Georgia Federation of Labor and then later as its President, as President of the Atlanta Federation of Trades, as Director for the Southeastern Organization of Wearing Apparel industries and finally as Director for the Southern campaign of the TWOC. As a liberal spokesman he gave of himself unsparingly to the promotion of worthy causes likely to advance the well-being of the Southern worker and the public. He represented in himself the new era both for the Southern worker and the community. The TWOC prized his leadership and his counsel and valued its good fortune of having him lead the drive in the Southern states. His great industry won wide respect,

and his constructive leadership furnished the healthy and strong base upon which our Southern movement is now being built. He gave his life for the TWOC. The tribute we pay to his memory is to carry on the work of organization to its successful end. In his stead, Roy R. Lawrence assumed leadership of the movement there. The union's efforts have been continuous and patient. The results seemingly have been slow. But each gain has been dramatic and constructive.

The character of a region is changing. The Southern labor union movement is at the spearhead of the changing current in the political and intellectual climate of the South. Liberals in other fields find that TWOC is ready to work with them. In developing its campaign, the TWOC has spread its message among the workers, giving every encouragement to liberal movements in the South. There are signs that the cotton textile employers are loosening their holds on politics, church, thought and life in the South. In place of the "cotton feudal system," slowly the new liberal South is building genuine democracy founded on a recognition of the rights of workers. The union is proud to share in this work.

The obstacles still are great. Many employers are openly hostile, while others exercise their hostility in subtler ways. A few are progressive and willing in a frank and liberal manner to meet the workers on a common ground. Most employers, accustomed to an autocratic system, find it hard to shift to the democratic process of collective bargaining. Even the best employers are certain they know what "their" workers want and need better than the workers themselves. They utterly distrust democracy when it applies to the men and women who work in their mills.

In mill-owned villages it is practically impossible to hold union meetings, and often the towns adjacent to these villages are so dominated by the mill management that union halls cannot be secured. Union organizers often are attacked and beaten, sometimes even driven out of town by gangs of hostile men. It invariably proves impossible to have anyone convicted or punished for these unlawful acts. On the other hand, organizers sometimes are jailed without a charge against them, held incommunicado for days at a time.

Local governments, in sympathy usually with the mill managements refuse to uphold the civil liberties of organizers or of union members. All too often they abandon their public trust to aid and abet the employers in attacks on unionism.

These hostile interests use many devices to prevent the spread of organization. One is open menace. As an illustration, employers call meetings of their workers to threaten them against showing any interest in the union. Some employers go further than that. They circulate "loyalty pledges," firing the workers who fail to sign. Other employers instigate company unions almost unknown

to the South in the past. These imposter organizations appear on the scene today to obstruct the spread of real unions. Furthermore, some employers fire union members or lay them off, change them to poorer jobs or subject them to speed-ups in an effort to discourage organization or to induce active members to leave.

In some areas, the Ku Klux Klan and similar organizations have been encouraged to aggressive anti-union action. Sometimes the superintendents or the foremen of mills lead Ku Klux Klan parades to menace union meetings. Even preachers are used to fight the union. The independent churches and ministers do not participate in these practices, but some preachers, generally self-ordained, who lack conscience and righteousness, find profit in attacking the union within their churches or at open air meetings before mill gates.

Behind a camouflage of "rugged individualism," far too many Southern textile manufacturers have ranged themselves collectively against unionism. The pattern of opposition in all their mills is singularly uniform. Evidence points, as well, to the great pressure applied in concert by manufacturers on any employers who show signs of preparing to deal with the union. This pressure may take the form of ostracism, or, still worse, of drastic financial penalties.

Many employers in plants where the union represents the majority or all of the workers have neither frankly nor honestly cooperated with representatives of the union to develop satisfactory agreements. They avail themselves at every opportunity, of delay. They insist upon proof, but refuse to agree to a consent election. This makes necessary the long, drawn-out procedure of formal hearings before the Labor Board to obtain an order for an election. The employers use every conceivable device to delay this process and to postpone the date of election. Then, when the proceedings are ended and it is evident that the TWOC is the legal bargaining agency, the employers erect other hurdles.

Some refuse even to meet with the TWOC representatives. Others may agree to meet and little else. They indulge in endless discussions to circumvent any possibility of agreement. Yielding on very minor points, they refuse utterly to settle essential questions. They delay and extend negotiations in the hope either of weakening the union, or of wearing down its resistance to their demands.

In bright contrast, other employers show good faith and sincerity in dealing with the TWOC negotiators, but these are the exceptions, not the rule. When an agreement finally is signed such employers scrupulously adhere to its provisions. Unfortunately some employers violate their contracts in spirit and letter. This obviously is designed to provoke the workers to action; then the employer can claim that the union has broken the agreement. In the face of such provocation, the workers usually have exhibited the good sense to persevere at their jobs with quiet courage and patience until they had so clear a case that none could doubt the justice of their action.

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Despite all these obstacles, the TWOC drive in the South has made steady and encouraging progress, reaching into almost every textile center to enroll thousands of workers. The union staff in this area consists entirely of Southern natives. As a result, old prejudices against unions are breaking down in some places. The attitude of both the community and the press has changed, easing in part the process of organization. Furthermore, some regions have turned to liberal political leadership, and in at least some Southern states Governors have proved friendly and fair to the textile unions. This has given the workers courage to undergo temporary trials in order eventually to gain the security of organization. Through the machinery of the NLRB, members discharged for union activity, constantly are being reinstated. In this, the combination of union vigilance and the law protect the workers.

The TWOC now is planted solidly in the South. Its leadership is recognized as intelligent and responsible. As a result, the Southern workers place their faith and hope in the TWOC. The struggle is hard. On the other hand, the future promises victory. For one thing, under the TWOC stimulus, a labor movement at last is growing in the South. For another, the South itself is developing more liberal political and economic program. This, for a third, is supplemented by the influence of the federal government on behalf of labor.

Conclusion

The TWOC has made historic progress over the entire broad front of the textile industry. Though the extent of its advance has varied in different branches, it has inculcated substantial organization in most of them. The number of its contracts in an industry indicate the solidarity of its ranks and the degree to which it has overcome employer resistance. By that standard, it has registered concrete gains. Its major objectives, the "American standard of living" for all textile workers and the rehabilitation of the individual textile industries, depend on complete unionization.

Two factors interlock to gear the rate of its advance in the organized districts. One is the union's ability to overcome the hostility of individual employers. The other is the resistance to intimidation and coercion by the workers, which only a strong organization through education and unity can create. In this task the National Labor Relations Act serves as a primary aid. It has proved a bridge for bringing to employers the values and advantages of collective bargaining.

In the less organized areas its rates of advance will rise as its victories acquaint liberal industrial leaders with the advantages of collective bargaining. All this is contingent on the union's ability to allay their fears. This in turn will permit the union to prove that organization serves constructively to help industry. Then these

employers, like others, will accept unionism. Their acceptances finally will spread, serving to dissipate the suspicions and remove the prejudice of the remaining employers.

It is the union's task to impress on these employers the rights of textile workers. Futhermore, before the union can introduce collective bargaining to the entire industry, it must train employers in the elements, procedures and advantages of an orderly system of collective bargaining. In too many textile areas employers are both uninformed of the meaning of collective bargaining and in its practices. Through the NLRA, many of them for the first time have been introduced, albeit unwillingly to the process. The training of these employers by the union forms the first step toward universal collective bargaining.

IX.

The National Organization

The failures of previous organizations were rooted in the inadequacies of their facilities, structure and policies. These organizations inherently were neither adapted to the needs of the movement and the demands of the workers nor to the nature of the industry. They were the product of sporadic enthusiasms and temporary objectives. These had to be changed to insure a permanent, growing organization. Toward this end the TWOC has set up efficient machinery and has adopted sound policies.

First among these is the national office. It was conceived to coordinate, stimulate, assist, advise, and direct the organization. It has amassed a great store of basic information, including reports and statistics and other industrial and historic data. To ensure effective aid to the field, it has selected for its staff a personnel trained to handle organization problems. Finally, to satisfy the needs of the locals, it has extended its facilities and services. The national organization is not yet fully equipped. The present structure, however, indicates the type of services and facilities which it will multiply for the future.

Organization in the textile industry depends upon an effective national organization. This industry, unlike local trades, is characterized by nationwide competition. To gain organization among the workers of competitive concerns and particularly to conduct effective drives in new areas the union needs the coordinated experience and aid of national officers. Furthermore, funds in the labor movement are all too meager, at best. Only experienced direction can serve to employ those meager funds to the best advantage. Moreover, the organization of the more backward sections necessitates long preparation and much education. Too costly for isolated local unions to undertake, such drives can be carried on only by national organizations.

National Coordination

By careful and constant review of all its efforts throughout the country the national office gauges their effectiveness. This measure of its activities enables the union to direct its current organizing efforts into the most promising channels, and to outline its strategy for long-time drives in the more difficult areas. For this purpose the Executive Director, Emil Rieve, has gone into local districts, and directed other national representatives to review local conditions. These personal contacts supplement the weekly reports which each organizer, through his regional director, submits to the national office.

expenditures made by the staff members. This procedure, of course,

These local reviews serve to measure progress, to define local problems and to determine the type of aid needed to help the local unions. The national office constantly shifts its personnel and furnishes all sorts of assistance. It provides aid for contract negotiations and for the unexpected problems which crop up in the course of negotiations. It sends national representatives wherever need for them is greatest. The office serves, too, to reappraise local needs, to define the limits for negotiations, to offer proposals for contracts, to contact the national office of textile companies, to work out solutions for specific problems and to secure the intervention of governmental agencies or conciliators. Its objectives are a more effective organization, better and more contacts, improved working conditions and stronger locals. Frequently the national office anticipates the problems which locals will face, furnishing assistance as protection against hazards the locals cannot themselves perceive.

To build an alert organization, the TWOC now has an Advisory Council of nineteen regional directors, officers of the UTWA, and other officials. This council, formed November 3, 1938, has met four times to study reports on progress, to make recommendations to the national officers and to assist in the formulation of policy.

Audit and Finance

Faced by a vast number of problems, the national organization has established several departments to serve the locals and aid them. In the first place, there is the audit and finance department. To clarify the whole process of recording financial experience, the union had set up a system of monthly reports in the local unions. These, sent every month to the national office, are audited by the audit and finance department which in turn sends its reports to the national officers and to the local unions. The latter reports have tended to increase the accuracy of local accounts. Moreover, field auditors of the national office install the books in the local unions and teach the local secretaries how to keep the records. Periodically, this field staff makes full audits of local union books to guide the officers. As a result, all transactions have been handled expeditiously.

The service has won widespread approval in the organization. It prevents both confusion of records and abuse of funds. This department also aids local unions to budget expenses for most effective use. The field auditors, in addition, assist locals to improve their office routines and to increase efficiency in dues collection methods. Their assistance has brought increases in the proportion of members in good standing. Furthermore the auditors prepare general suggestions for secretary-treasurers, including ways to remind members of their obligations. They devise records for shop stewards and collectors. All this service has assured accuracy in the union's accounts.

Another division of the finance department examines the insures proper accounting. At the same time, it forces careful observance of all unon rules. This indirectly served to introduce throughout the organization an orderliness which has won wide commendation. As the result of this unique system of checks and balances, the funds of the organization are fully, intelligently and frugally applied.

Editorial

In the second place, there is the department which issues "Textile Labor" every month. The newspaper was launched in February as the official organ of the union. Jumping in circulation within two months to 110,000, it has reached every corner of the nation. Replacing regional papers which in New England and the South appeared intermittently, the monthly of tabloid size, now contains eight pages crowded only with the most important news. With further growth of the organization, "Textile Labor" will be expanded to include all that occurs currently in the union and in the industry. The paper is compiled in greatest part from information and reports sent to the department by members and organizers. The newspapers now are sent in bundle lots to all locals for distribution both to members and to unorganized textile workers. A number of locals have arranged to mail copies directly to their members' homes. The union plans eventually to carry "Textile Labor" to the home of every American textile worker.

Legal

The legal department has been of tremendous service to the entire organization. The union's great list of labor board victories, both state and national, can in part be ascribed to the devoted efforts of the union's counsel. Through correspondence, personal effort and guidance, the department has built up the TWOC cases.

The department has served to clarify board procedure for organizers and business agents, easing for them the process of filing cases under various government acts. In addition, the department has framed and argued cases before the courts and various Boards on behalf of the locals and of the national union.

The department has obtained injunctions, compelling employers to observe their contracts. It has won favorable decisions through arbitration involving rights under contracts. It has protected civil liberties. It has safeguarded benefits under unemployment insurance and workmen's compensation laws. It has effected the release of workers and organizers who had been subjected to arrest. It surveys the entire range of legal issues faced by the union. In addition, it selects and directs special counsel whenever the peculiarities of cases require extra legal talent.

Research

The research department provides a wide range of services extending far beyond the scope of research. As a matter of fact, when the organization was launched, this department assumed, in great part, the duty of setting up basic routines for the organization. These routines help the union to function satisfactorily and efficiently. The department issues a series of informational bulletins. Among its publications, the bimonthly "National News Letter," sent to local unions and organizers, summarizes current events in the union.

It furnishes data on new agreements and arbitration decisions, on NLRB rulings and elections, on conferences and meetings and on other phases of the organization's activities. In addition, the department issues a series of industry "Notes," described in a subsequent section of this report.

This department also formulates and presents on behalf of textile workers the union's recommendations on public and industrial questions. It prepares briefs and furnishes expert testimony to governmental bodies on wages, tariffs and government contracts. In the same way, as representative of the union, it argues wage and financial problems before public authorities and arbitration tribunals. To organizers, it furnishes data on the financial status of concerns. Far more important, it gives the organizers vital wage data. These data it collates from information obtained in the field.

The department now is making a basic study of wages in many industries. This study will form the foundation of the union's campaign for higher wage scales. The studies on union contract provisions made by the department aid in negotiations. It has, in addition, surveyed obstacles to organization in specific areas and industries. Its assistance has proved particularly valuable in handling workload and stretchout problems. Through this development of a satisfactory technique, the union has contributed vitally to the industry. The department launches still other studies to solve specific and practical questions of organization in mills and of administration of contracts.

The department keeps a complete record of every agreement, arbitration decision, and contractual modification. These records show whether contracts conform with national policy. From these records the union can formulate suggestions for improvements in future contracts. The department, to prepare the locals and organizers for negotiations, informs them long in advance of vital contractual dates. The department warns them of the dates of expiration and of renewal. It also furnishes numerous additional services to the locals. As a case in point it promoted the "TWOC Local Union Book and Pamphlet Club," to help local unions establish their own libraries. Furthermore, it has furnished assistance to develop educational, recreational and cultural programs.

This department, of course, has as one of its primary duties

the close study of economic trends and conditions within the specific divisions and within the textile industry as a whole. Armed with the data, it advises the officers and local unions of probable changes so that they may shape policy for the future.

The department, in addition, supplies information at the request of local unions on group insurance plans, credit unions, hospitalization schemes and housing. This includes advice on building purchases.

It has contributed vital information on the highly competitive structure of the industry and its multiple problems; its technological changes; and the shifting importance of yarns, fabrics and finishes; its basic evils; and its paucity of leadership.

Wage and Hour Bureau

Finally, the union has helped to set up in Washington a special Wage and Hour Bureau. To this Bureau it sends its complaints against violations of the Wage and Hour Law. The Bureau, as the representative of the union, then carries the cases to the federal authorities, speeding up the handling of the cases in many instances.

These ramified services of the national office have increased the efficiency of the union as a whole and of its component parts as well. More than that, they have raised the prestige of the movement with individual employers and with the industry as a whole. They serve, furthermore, as an educational medium, training the membership in techniques for handling their problems, and inculcating in them a realization of their rights, objectives and obligations.

These activities, innovations to the textile labor movement, belong intrinsically to a modern era of great industry and mass labor movements. They spell further growth and increasing strength for the TWOC.

X.

National Coordination of the Individual Subdivisions

The TWOC has furnished the means for concerted action in the various industry divisions. To assist each in securing greater stability it has perfected several methods intended to provide a common ground for discussing interlocking problems and a method for assuring the necessary information.

"Notes"

In the first place, it issued special industry "Notes" for each branch of textiles. Appearing generally at monthly intervals, the Notes have been issued oftener at times to provide data for conferences or negotiations or similar necessities. For each of the industries, the "Notes" describe current economic conditions and trends shaping its future prospects. The problems of the industry and its financial status as well as the financial reports of its component firms are listed in the "Notes," along with prices and production, conditions in local unions and comparative wage standards, major grievances and methods for handling them, union agreements and other matters, inherently peculiar to each branch of the industry or the workers in it. These "Notes" serve to weld together the segregated groups of workers. Distributed widely to the local unions, the industrial bulletins have proved particularly useful to the leaders of the union.

Industry Conferences

As the organization spread through each of the industrial divisions, the need for intra-industrial discussions of problems mounted in proportion. To meet this need, the union called industry conferences. This innovation which began with a few meetings during the depression of late 1937 and early 1938 gathered momentum till in the Fall of 1938 there were many conferences. At these conferences, representatives of local unions within each of the industries gather for a day or two to consider all aspects of their industry's problems, to correlate information from various areas, and to develop uniform policies. The agenda for these conferences, issued to the delegates before the meeting, usually includes a detailed discussion of vital industry questions.

These conferences have served to bind the locals together on chords of cooperation and mutual understanding. They have, in addition, dissipated rumors and suspicions. In the last analysis, they pool for the scattered locals all the basic information of the industry. With these basic data, the locals may then pattern their future course.

For each conference, the union gathers statistics on problems

the delegates will consider. These statistics, summarized for the delegates before they begin their discussions, serve to clarify the questions. In the main, the TWOC holds quarterly conferences for each industry, unless special problems require conferences in the interim.

Such a conference by woolen and worsted delegates set up a work assignment committee to investigate special workload questions. The committee has prepared a report on the weave shed problems for the next conference. Up to the present three conferences have been held for carpet and rug workers and as many again for workers in the velvet and plush industry. There have been two conferences for woolen and worsted and synthetic yarn workers. The workers in the cordage and thread industry, of the silk and rayon throwing and weaving industry, of the Northern cotton industry and of the silk and rayon jacquard and narrow fabrics industry each have held a single conference.

To supplement these Industry Conferences the union calls State Conferences in the South. There have been such conferences in Alabama, Georgia, North and South Carolina, Tennessee and the Upper South.

These conferences have won wide approval as a particularly useful mechanism for solving industry issues. They have served, like the regular industry conferences, to weld the scattered locals together and to iron out knotty problems. At these conferences, several hundred delegates from all branches of textiles in the State cover organizational as well as industrial issues in their discussions. These State Conferences have served to rally forces for organizing.

The TWOC now is devising still a third pattern of coordination in the synthetic yarn industry. For this pattern the union expanded the field of the director of the Viscose local unions to include all the synthetic yarn locals of the nation. He directs negotiations, helps to solve perplexing problems, and coordinates the policies and activities of the locals. This innovation, an experiment on the part of the TWOC, forms one aspect of the union's effort to integrate each of its subdivisions.

By this interchange of ideas, information and experiences, the TWOC links its local unions together solidly. This cooperation is a basic requisite for the solving of identical problems which the locals face in their mills. In lesser capacity these coordinating mechanisms serve, along with able and efficient local administration, to procure and to safeguard contracts.

Neither the "Notes" nor the "Conferences" require costly administrative machinery, but they bring benefits as great as the more expensive patterns of coordination. Local unions employ the information, guidance and assistance these mechanisms furnish to formulate their programs. The national union uses the data to set its policies, and determine on methods for more effective assistance.

XI.

Local Union Structure

The National Organization directs all of its activities toward strengthening the local unions, the basic unit of the organization. To make these basic units most effective, it furnishes a wide and detailed program of services. They equip the locals to function more intelligently on behalf of their members. Obviously, members find a better solution for their problems in a local whose activities and program have been planned with expert care. The entire staff of the national organization directs its full energies toward this end so that workers may find in their improved locals the protection they need, the security they require, and the working conditions they want.

In its effort to develop the most adequate local union structure, the TWOC decided to charter all newly organized mills during its drive into new locals. This action enabled the young organization to assume their new responsibilities unshackled by previous associations. The policy served, furthermore, to fire enthusiasm for the organizing drive.

It was the policy of the TWOC not to issue new charters until contracts were signed so that healthy local unions could develop on a firm basis. This policy freed the staff and the members for the primary task of organization. Otherwise the internal problems that spawn with the planting of a local union would have dissipated their energies.

With the signing of the first agreement at the Amsterdam plant of the Bigelow-Sanford Carpet Company, as an instance in point, Local No. 1 was chartered. Local No. 2 was chartered for Louisville to embrace several organized mills in that city.

Local Union Finances

Before this happened, the national union had armed itself with information on the best and most efficient methods for operating a local union. A careful review had been made of the operating methods and functioning of locals in all the international unions. With these data the organization then developed plans to ensure the most efficient type of local organization.

It was apparent that old procedures, developed in the distant past, needed improvements to solve textile problems. First, methods of keeping financial records had to be improved. Protests had erupted frequently because the methods were too lax, leaving funds unsecured or opening them sometimes to unwarranted use. The TWOC, therefore, devised an improved method of record keeping which has brought universal satisfaction.

Under the new TWOC system all funds, received by a union

in the form of dues, fines or assessments, receive the double acknowledgment of a formal receipt and a stamp officially issued by the National Office. These stamps represent payments to the National Office. In addition, each local records all incomes in a special "day book." Moreover, the by-laws require the establishment of a Board of Trustees to pass on all expenditures, and all payments by the local must be made by check, countersigned by three persons. A monthly report, sent to the National Office, lists each expenditure, the income from various sources and the liabilities; shows the status of all stamps and supplies; and records the balance. The bank statement is also sent to the National Office to complete the audit. This method, it has been found, has not burdened the Secretary-Treasurer, but, rather, has instilled in him a greater confidence in his records. Moreover, field auditors helped each of the secretary-treasurers to solve problems peculiar to their locals. Since each officer and collector is bonded, not a single local union has suffered any losses during the last two years. The misappropriations in less than a handful of cases, in each of which full funds were restored immediately, have served as object lessons against infractions by financial officers.

Recreational and Educational Activities

Each local union was urged to serve as center for the social and recreational activities of its members. This was vital, it was pointed out, because most textile unions are located in rural areas and small towns and there the workers need such outlets for a full existence. Educational programs, set up by the locals as a result of the national union's stimulus, have received all forms of assistance from the national office. In the same way, many of the local unions now boast of libraries and of study classes. They have athletic teams and sports activities, minstrel groups, bands and dramatic groups, lectures and women's forums and auxiliaries. They set up committees for union labels, entertainment, recreation, housing and relief. They run moving picture nights, credit unions and cooperative buying clubs, among still other activities.

These local union programs, enriching the lives of the workers, have at the same time focussed their energies in organization. The activities endowed the local union meetings with a special interest for varied types of workers. Several local unions, as a result, have become vitally interested in civic activities and, acting as a core for reform movements, have secured improvements of public service in their communities.

Joint Boards

In seven states of the nation TWOC has set up ten Joint Boards.

These Boards administer 71 locals. There are a half dozen Boards in the Northeast and East, three in the Midwest and one in the Far West.

The Joint Board in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, directs six locals. In New York State, of the three Boards, one in New York City directs eight locals, another, in the Capitol districts directs seven, and the third, in Utica, thirteen. The New Jersey Joint Board directs nineteen locals, and in Massachusetts the New Bedford Board, five. In Ohio, the Toledo Board covers two locals and in Missouri, the Kansas City Board, three. In Minnesota, the Twin Cities Board administer five locals and in California the Bay Area Board, three.

Of all the advantages the Joint Board system offers, the first is economy. Under this system, for one thing, larger and better headquarters than the individual locals separately can finance, may be set up. Furthermore, an adequate office staff may be hired to perform routine work effectively. For a third thing, such necessary expenses as office supplies, telephone expenditures, rentals for meeting halls and other expenses may be divided among the locals. Finally, savings under this system may be used for a business agent chosen by the locals. Experience shows the savings on overhead expenses help to defray costs of increased organization activities.

The Joint Board system proved particularly valuable during the depression. Then locals helped to support one another. Often, as the Joint Board discovered, while one local is active, another is slow. Through the Joint Board, the active local by its temporary assistance helped to tide the slow local over its difficulties. Strategically, this helped many locals to survive.

In organizing new shops or consolidating old ones, the Joint Board has been invaluable. As a worker put it: "When an employer fights a shop under a Joint Board, he quickly discovers he is challenging an entire Joint Board, not merely a hundred workers in one shop but ten thousand workers in all the shops of the area."

Similarly, in picketing, all of the locals in the Joint Board cooperate. A local coping with a strike has the moral and financial support of the thousands welded together in the area through its Joint Board. The Board, furthermore, serves as the medium locally to exchange experience and basic information and to collect data. While the technical problems of all locals may not be exactly the same, organizational problems are. The Board serves to develop common policies and to plan educational programs on a large scale.

Finally, the Board enjoys greater prestige than an isolated local. It can mold public opinion. In those areas where the Boards have been set up on a sound basis, under effective leadership, the system has proved its worth many times over.

Other Administration Forms

Another type of coordination is necessary for the scattered

locals. These locals dot a wider geographic area and need closer daily contact with one another. Various plans to permit such locals to share their common expenses and unify their functions as well as exchange their data and experiences, are now being developed.

Such methods, it is believed, will help the local unions to obtain their own business agents and to keep close contact with companion locals in the same area. These methods will serve to prevent detachment and isolation.

Conclusion

The coordination of locals and their concerted action is imperative for effective, alert and militant unionism. In the textile industries characterized by small communities, the workers particularly need the union to bring them in closer contact with the wide world outside their mill and home.

Patently, the basis of a strong international organization in textiles must be built on two structures. One is a foundation of strong local administrative bodies, either as Joint Boards or alternate coordinating bodies. The other is a system for exchanging information and for coordinating the policies within the separate subdivisions of the textile industry.

XII.

Organizing Staff

The primary functions of the organizers and business agents are to bring the message of unionism both to the organized and unorganized in textile communities, and to assist established groups to develop their own leadership and to meet their own problems.

They act as direct contacts between the National Office and the local unions. They serve as intermediaries between the local union and its membership on the one hand, and the employer on the other. Frequently they function as public spokesmen for the local union. Such a great task demands devotion, without rest or relaxation. The union is proud of the men on its staff, of their self-sacrifice, and of their energetic battle for one great cause; the furtherance of effective unionism.

Size

As this report previously indicated the organization started with a staff of some 650, including organizers and other administrative workers. Of this total, some 500 were directly on the organization's payroll. Then, in October 1937, the staff was reduced to suit both the organization's resources and its needs. The recession made it more necessary to consolidate the union's gains than to expand into new fields. New areas, in the main, were closed. The staff was curtailed, and to increase its usefulness, assignments were changed. In the last year, the size of the staff has been constant despite some shifts in personnel. At the present time the staff consists of 170, of whom 125 are organizers. In addition to the total national staff, local unions have 38 full-time business agents on their separate payrolls. Furthermore, hundreds of members in the organization acting as leaders locally serve with the full devotion of the regular organizing staff.

Fortunately, the staff is not limited just to the organizers of the national office and the local unions. Other organizations have aided, not only in the crucial first six months of the campaign but ever since. They have assigned members of their staffs for various periods.

At the present time, to cite an outstanding instance, the entire Southern staff of the American Federation of Hosiery Workers works with the TWOC organizers as a combined staff under the direction of the TWOC regional director. These organizers, each in his own area, devote themselves to the organization of textile and hosiery workers. The Dyers' Federation, as another instance, have assigned several members of their staff to direct the TWOC organizational work. In addition to this special aid furnished by the two organizations, their regular organizers and business agents have served to extend the TWOC.

The Amalgamated Clothing Workers, as the third instance, took a direct and active part in the organization from the very first. At the beginning they not only contributed to the finances of the organization but assigned outstanding members of their own staff to serve as regional directors and organizers. These organizers brought a fund of experience badly needed by the organization. In the same way, they brought with them methods of guiding organization. Then, as the campaign progressed, evolving textile leaders in the process, the organization was able to steam ahead on its own, freeing the organizers from other unions for problems which had accumulated meantime in their own organizations. From the peak of some fifty Amalgamated aides on the textile organization staff the number has dropped to the present quota of ten who contribute all or part of their time to this work. The CIO, as the fourth instance, has assigned organizers to cooperate with the staff of the textile union. The leaders of all these organizations have responded to every appeal for aid. In all, therefore, the present staff now consists of some 250 members.

Incidentally, the overwhelming preponderance of the staff members are recruited directly from the textile mills. Furthermore, the organizers for each region are drafted from mills within its limits so that New Englanders compose the New England staff; Jersey workers, the New Jersey staff and Southerners, the Southern staff. These organizers know from long experience the organizational needs peculiar to each area and the characteristics of its workers. They reflect the very textile workers whom they serve. In the meantime, new leaders appear from the ranks of the membership, bringing fresh blood from the mill into the organization.

Organization

The staff is now divided into eleven major divisions with a director at the head of each. Each of the organizing staff members, assigned to specific areas, work under the direction and with the full assistance of their directors. The latter carefully follow the process of negotiations and countersign agreements. In addition, they review important issues of vital concern to the organization and set policies, reviewing obligations assumed by the local staffs. The directors assign the organizers and work out their programs.

Primarily through the directors the national office coordinates its policy. In the face of crucial problems the directors obtain special aid from or consult with the national office.

Training

Since the staff was set up rather quickly, the national officers have made every effort to provide the organizers with full information on their duties, responsibilities and methods. The directors in

several regions hold regular study groups to train organizers, teaching them the issues, policies and background of the organization. In addition, the directors everywhere hold regular weekly and monthly conferences for organizers to discuss current problems. The future will bring more of this type of activity.

The national office publications such as "National News Letter" and the "Industry Notes" have served to train the organizers as well. Their contacts, furthermore, with the legal, research and editorial departments have brought them a knowledge of specialized techniques. Finally, special bulletins on methods of handling grievances, the solution of the seniority problem, arbitration, and similar issues are sent by the national office to the organizers and business agents.

The national office looks forward to the day when more and more locals elect their own business agents and maintain their own local personnel. The staff of the international union then can devote itself exclusively to the double task of coordinating the activities of local unions and of organizing new areas.

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XIII.

Financial Problems

The financial problem was a stumbling block of past textile organizations. To the TWOC, facing similar problems, the nation's labor movement contributed all sorts of assistance, including funds.

Without these contributions, the union could never have grown to its present stature. It, too, might have faltered, like the textile unions of the past. The CIO helped the TWOC particularly in those crucial first six months of its organizing drive before the onset of the recession. Neither funds nor effort were spared. The brilliant results more than justified the struggle. Expenditures during the first six months of the drive, the expenses of the national organization (excluding the salaries of organizers from other organizations who had been loaned to the TWOC) were approximately $810,000.00. By the end of March 1939, for its two year campaign, the TWOC had disbursed $1,780,797.07. On behalf of the TWOC drive, other organizations had expended some $300,000.00, in addition to direct contributions or loans. The total cost of the campaign by March 31, 1939, therefore mounts to two million dollars.

Furthermore, the local unions and joint boards of the TWOC and the UTWA to extend the local organization expended an additional bloc of funds. These expenditures were tremendous, mounting during the year of 1938 alone to $350,000.00.

The expenditures of TWOC national office (excluding the funds spent by local unions and by cooperating CIO organizations) were:

Expenditures of the Textile Workers Organizing Committee — March 23, 1937 to March 31, 1939

Type Expenditures:

Organization Expenditures:

Organizers' Salaries	$ 601,073.23
Organizers' Expenses	347,439.24
Strike Expenditures	194,843.63
Legal Expenditures	70,836.58
General	147,638.89
Total	$1,361,831.57

Operating Expenditures:

Administrative Salaries	$ 188,739.49
Administrative Expenses	22,408.79
Social Security and Unemployment Insurance Taxes	25,285.72
Office Maintenance Expenses	143,714.25
Receivables	15,756.24
Local Union Supplies and Salaries	14,178.12
Other Expenditures	8,882.89
Total	$ 418,965.50
Total Expenditures	1,780,797.07

Income

The major source of funds for the Textile Workers Organizing Commitee has been the Congress for Industrial Organization and its affiliates. Of the $1,792,952.62, collected directly by theTWOC, the CIO organizations contributed $806,000.00. The locals and the joint boards of the TWOC furnished $494,616.99. The affiliated Federations provided $242,863.20. And the United Textile Workers of America locals delivered $126,319.62.

Receipts of the Textile Workers Organizing Committee March 23, 1937 to March 31, 1939

Source of Receipts:

TWOC Locals and Joint Boards	$ 494,616.99
TWOC Affiliates	
United Textile Workers of America	126,319.62
American Federation of Hosiery Workers	183,152.00
Federation of Dyers, Bleachers, Printers and Finishers	59,711.00
	863,796.61
Congress of Industrial Organization:	
Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America	523,000.00
United Mine Workers of America	198,000.00
Congress of Industrial Organization	85,000.00
International Ladies' Garment Workers Union	110,000.00
Miscellaneous Sources and Receipts	13,153.01
Total Receipts	$1,792,952.62

The CIO financial contributions above all else made this drive possible. A tower of strength, the CIO has written a new chapter in the history of American labor through its support of the TWOC. It eliminated uncertainty from the TWOC drive, giving its funds and its manpower to launch the new movement. The TWOC forever is indebted to the CIO.

The concerted effort symbolizes a growing unity in the labor movement of this nation. This pattern was woven by the CIO, which in the TWOC revealed its constructive effort to help the nation by the building of strong unions in the major American industries. As a result the CIO helped to create the foundations of a strong international union.

There are now 428 active, functioning locals in the TWOC in all branches. Of these 302 are in the parent body and 80 in the Hosiery Federation, 23 in the Dyers Federation and 23 in the UTWA.

Rapidly closing the gap between income and expenditures, the national organization soon will support itself entirely, expanding without the aid of its CIO sponsors. The recession of late 1937 alone prevented the organization from reaching that goal long since. The recession, cheating textile workers of their jobs, drained the locals of their funds, and postponed for the national union complete self-maintenance. Despite the shadow of that recession, the union steadily has strengthened its organization, swelling income and paring expenditures to make them balance. The organization in the meantime, carefully controls expenditures to keep on a sound financial keel. In the autumn of 1938, its staff to bring down expenses, gave up a week's pay for each of three successive months.

In addition to retaining the current dues minimum of a dollar for each member, the union should require payment on an annual basis, each member paying twelve dollars a year without exemptions. This would give the union a steady financial structure to advance its organization and to expand its services and activities. The annual dues plan widely adopted by local unions furnishes them year-round income to maintain a full program of services. With unions most necessary when employment is least, the annual dues system serves to maintain the organization and protect the members from suffering losses.

XIV.

TWOC and the UTWA

With the signing of the agreement between the UTWA and the CIO, the direction of the organizing drive was placed in the hands of the Textile Workers Organizing Committee. Two of its members, Emil Rieve and Francis J. Gorman, were selected from the United Textile Workers of America.

To conserve efforts, the organization planned a unified drive, placing officers and organizers and all employees, upon the TWOC payroll. The TWOC shouldered all of the obligations since the signing of the agreement.

According to an analysis and audit of the UTWA books by The Board of Trustees as of April 5, 1937, the operating fund had a balance of $7,018.98 and the mortuary fund of $20,685.89. The audit showed that this was supplemented by $6,801.53 in investments which virtually were frozen.

The Secretary-Treasurer was directed by the Trustees to "close your books as to per capita receipts on Thursday; on the Monday of the following week, a check for the amount which is represented by per capita tax payment of 40 cents per member per month will be drawn to the account of the Textile Workers Organizing Committee. A separate check will be drawn to the account of the Mortuary Fund which will represent the death benefit premium for that given week."

In accordance with this agreement, the Secretary-Treasurer continued to function as before. He received all communications and remittances from the locals directly affiliated with the United Textile Workers, and sent each week the sums collected for per capita to the Treasurer of the TWOC. He retained full supervision and responsibility for the mortuary fund, for which TWOC had arranged for a transfer of $10,000. The $10,000 filled a deficit created far earlier by diversion of these funds to direct organizational purposes. The entire procedure had been described in a letter to all UTWA locals on April 1, 1937.

Many direct financial obligations of the UTWA were assumed by TWOC under the agreement. The more important were the debts at Martinsburg, West Virginia; at the trials in Talladega, Alabama; and the payment of individual death benefits. These have been met by the TWOC so that there are no outstanding obligations of UTWA.

Furthermore, at the beginning of the TWOC drive, there were 281 locals directly affiliated with the UTWA excluding the locals belonging to the Hosiery and Dyers Federation. Ever since the TWOC launched its organization drive, no new UTWA charters were issued, all new organizations receiving charters directly from

the TWOC. Of the 291 UTWA locals, 23 now are functioning under their old UTWA charters. Of the remainder, 92 passed out of existence because their membership in good standing had dwindled to less than seven. The rest replaced their UTWA charters with TWOC charters. Each of these locals, with full appreciation of their obligations, incorporated their change of charter in formal resolutions. They made the transfers in order to identify themselves with the TWOC and the CIO organization. In addition, they wanted a share in the development of an improved organization. In these transfers, many smaller local unions of a single city and the same industry combined to form large industrial unions. These large units raised the prestige of the local organization and served as well to coordinate work in the area. In virtually all instances, the locals have grown stronger and more powerful since they transferred to the TWOC.

At the same time, these local unions, which still retain UTWA charters, have been given full TWOC assistance and guidance. The TWOC assigned organizers to help them and cooperated completely in other ways as well.

Thorough cooperation among all groups in the UTWA and the TWOC has prevailed throughout the entire period. The only rupture was the release of Joseph Sylvia for reprehensible conduct, which the organization could only condemn. He was followed by a few others, and eventually by Francis J. Gorman, who masqueraded several defunct UTWA locals as CIO affiliates. In point of fact, two of the locals they cited had been disbanded long before the TWOC drive and the others had voluntarily previously transferred themselves to the TWOC. Gorman in November, 1938, had appeared as representative of the TWOC and UTWA at the CIO convention in Pittsburgh. Finally, he trumped up a "convention" of a handful of Sylvia's paper locals and went over to the AFL.

The Executive Council of the UTWA met on January 4th, to take formal action on the charges of misconduct which had been filed against Gorman and copies of which had been served on him. With Alexander McKeown presiding, the Council heard the evidence. Of the entire Executive Council of 21, the fifteen at the sessions voted unanimously to dismiss Gorman from the post of UTWA President and from all other offices as well. The Council confirmed the succession of George Baldanzi to the presidency.

The full copy of the resolution follows:

"1. The members of the Executive Council present at this meeting hereby find and determine that Francis J. Gorman is guilty of acts detrimental to the interest and welfare of the International Union and more particularly find and determine that:

A. He has advised, assisted and encouraged a dual and antagonistic organization, to wit, the so-called Providence and Woonasquatucket Woolen and Worsted Council, consisting

of local unions chartered by the American Federation of Labor and advised, aided and assisted said unions to affiliate themselves with the American Federation of Labor in violation of the decision of the 1936 convention of the United Textile Workers of America, reaffirming its affiliation with the Committee for Industrial Organization.

B. He has ceased to be a member in good standing of the United Textile Workers of America or the Textile Workers Organizing Committee and now holds membership in a dual and antagonistic organization, to wit, a local union chartered by the American Federation of Labor.

C. He has attempted to usurp the power and authority vested in the Executive Council of the United Textile Workers of America, by Section 2 of Article VII of the Constitution and By-Laws in that he has illegally and without authority attempted to expel Vice-Presidents Peel, White, Riviere and Baldanzi from their respective offices and has publicly announced that he would remove Secretary-Treasurer Starr from his office.

D. He has illegally and without authority directed the locals of the United Textile Workers of America to withhold the payment of their per capita taxes from the International organization.

E. He has attempted to repudiate the action taken by him at the direction of the Executive Council in executing the agreement dated March 9, 1937 between the United Textile Workers of America and the Committee for Industrial Organization.

F. He has engaged in other illegal and disruptive acts detrimental to the interest and welfare of the International Union.

2. Pursuant to the power given it by Section 8 of Article VII of the Constitution and By-Laws, the Executive Council thereby dismisses Francis J. Gorman from the office of President and from all other offices in the United Textile Workers of America to take effect at once."

Gorman's later action in the courts of the state of New York to stop the TWOC from functioning was dismissed by Supreme Court Justice Aaron J. Steuer after TWOC had submitted papers and affidavits supporting TWOC's contention that Gorman no longer represented the membership.

The United Textile Workers of America received during the period from August 1, 1936 to March 31, 1939, a total sum of $305,136.94. The principal part of this income came from local unions either in the form of capita tax, initiation fees or death benefit premiums. The expenditures by the United Textile Workers of America may be divided into the period prior to April 5, 1937

when the organization paid all of its expenditures. The total cost of operation during the first period was $194,618.79. During the subsequent period TWOC assumed all of the costs except those which were direct obligations of the mortuary fund. The major expenditure during this period were the remittances to the TWOC amounting to $109,913.77. The total expenditures were $308,232.37.

Receipts and Expenditures of the United Textile Workers Union August 1, 1936 to March 31, 1939

Receipts:

Per Capita Tax	$241,314.22
Initiation Fees	29,174.74
Death Benefit Premium	12,500.05
Other Income from Locals	4,752.79
Miscellaneous Income	4,095.28
Donations and Exchange Funds	13,299.86
Total	$305,136.94

Expenditures:

Officers' Salaries	$ 14,523.99
Officers' Expenses	12,169.01
Organizers' Salaries	26,467.57
Organizers' Expenses	27,266.90
Remitted to TWOC	109,913.77
Per Capita Tax Refunds to Federations	47,746.95
Special Organizing Costs	16,888.55
National Headquarters	14,553.74
Death Claims Paid	7,425.00
Other Expenditures	31,276.89
Total	$308,232.37

The original agreement between the TWOC and the UTWA had prescribed the amalgamation of both. This the TWOC is doing in its effort to build a strong international union. This industrial union of textile workers throughout the entire country will bring benefits to the workers, the entire labor movement and the country.

XV.

Through Legislation and Law Enforcement TWOC Advances the Cause of Textile Labor

Through social legislation the modern trade union seeks to advance the interests of its members, and of the workers in its industry. The proper types of law bring many benefits to workers, securing for them protection difficult otherwise to obtain. These laws, furthermore, serve to extend to the unorganized workers the benefits hitherto secured by the organized. Sometimes, when conditions among organized workers defy improvement unless standards of the unorganized are raised as well, such legislative action becomes vital. Furthermore, the maintenance of uniform conditions within an industry frequently requires the aid of law.

The past reveals that some employers deny workers the right to organize and to bargain collectively, but change their attitude in the face of a law upholding these rights. In addition, as all civilized nations of the world have learned, the law serves best to provide a system of benefits for old age, unemployment and sickness.

The evils inherent in an industrial civilization, such as ours, can in part be mitigated through economic legislation by Congress. The evil of substandard housing, to cite an outstanding instance, can be solved only through legislation.

The law, in itself, is not enough. With its passage come further problems. For one thing, there is the problem of administering the law. For another, there is the problem of enforcing the law so that all workers will enjoy its benefits.

An important phase of the TWOC program has been a double effort in this field of social legislation. On one hand, the union has pitted all its strength behind an effort to obtain support. On the other, the union has warily defended the workers' rights under such laws, demanding honest administration by government authorities, and serving as a mechanism to aid in enforcement.

As a constituent organization of the Congress for Industrial Organization, the TWOC has helped to formulate both national and state legislative programs. The organization has marshalled support for this program in order to push labor bills through the legislative mill of Congress and of the state legislature.

In several states where the TWOC is the outstanding labor organization, the burden of this legislative activity for the entire CIO organization has fallen on TWOC. Throughout the Southern textile states, the TWOC has been particularly active in promoting legislative improvements on behalf of labor.

As a matter of fact, the TWOC played a major role in the promotion and passage of the Federal Wage and Hour Act. Its

chairman, Sidney Hillman, served as one of the key figures in the campaign for the law, officially titled as the "Fair Labor Standards Act."

Then, with the passage of the Federal Wage and Hour Law, the TWOC launched an intensive study of the economic problems of the textile industry. To solve these problems, various legislative proposals are being examined by the union as part of its general effort to develop a full legislative program for textile workers.

Toward this end, the National Office has set up machinery for promoting legislation in the states. It broadcasts to the locals and their allied labor groups, information on proposed bills, describes methods for promoting good laws and outlines ways for revisions of inadequate laws. The union has, in many instances, succeeded in placing labor laws on state books. In several states, it has proposed bills for pick clocks and for posting of piece rates, for adequate compensation and for control of industrial hazards, particularly occupational disease. As a case in point, its effort helped to win an occupational disease law in Pennsylvania.

After such laws are passed, it becomes the special function of the national and local textile organizations to act as guardians of the newly won benefits, spreading them to all textile workers. Left to themselves and unused, laws may become dead letters. This has happened all too frequently in the past. Today, in the same way, without knowledge of a useful law, a textile worker can enjoy no particular benefit from it. Or, if he does know of it, he may be unfamiliar with procedures, or afraid to file the necessary complaints and papers for invoking its benefits. Through education and a higher geared machine for discovering and prosecuting violations, the union has served both to counteract fear and to enforce good legislation.

National Labor Relations Act

This pattern of legislative aid by the union weaves a bright thread through the story of the National Labor Relations Act. The Act was designed to establish finally, once and for all, the liberty of the American worker. State Labor Relations Acts have followed the same model to make that freedom prevail within their borders in local industries. Here only the highlights of this valiant and significant effort to guarantee the right to organize may be summarized.

Outlawing employers' suppression of organization, the National Labor Relations Act affirms the right of workers to organize and to bargain collectively. TWOC has, under this Act, filed approximately 450 separate complaints against the interfering and hostile tactics of as many firms. The complaints cover violations of virtually every section of the Act.

After the Supreme Court had upheld the Act, the great proportion of textile employers abided by its requirements. Of the remainder, some flouted the law openly, continuing defiantly to violate very one of its provisions in an effort to strangle organization. The violations by these employers and by others who did not understand the law ceased, in many instances, after preliminary informal hearings before the representatives of the National Labor Relations Board. More stubborn employers, whose defiance of the law increased in the face of informal recommendations by the Board to cease illegal practices, have forced the Board to hold formal hearings and issue formal orders against the violations.

Of all the types of interference, coercion and restraint practiced by the violators, dismissal of union members has been the outstanding form of discrimination. Against this violation, by the end of January, 1939, the National Labor Relations Board had formally ordered various companies to reinstate more than one thousand textile workers. A proportion of these reinstatement orders now await enforcement by the United States Circuit Courts of Appeals.

Among the other forms of coercion practiced by violators and stopped by the National Relations Board are: employers' threats against organization in advice to their workers and in broadcasts to the public; beatings of organizers at the instigation of employers; the creation of vigilante groups and other anti-union civic organizations; and, finally, the use of business reorganization as a device to evade recognition of the union.

While the most flagrant abuses have been checked by the Board, the great volume of minor discriminations have overtaxed its machinery, so that it has been unable to follow some of them completely or expedite its handling of others. All in all, however, the Board has served to convert the constitutional rights of civil liberties into reality for hundreds of thousands of textile workers in the mills of this country.

It has been particularly effective in stopping company unions from undermining genuine organization. Most of the union's charges against company-dominated unions have been filed in the North. In the South today, the number is increasing as employers, waking to the expansion of genuine organization, follow the pattern set by hostile employers of the North. Subtler methods for fostering company unions were devised by the employers after the Act was upheld by the Circuit Courts and the Supreme Court. These unions, serving as catspaws for employers, seem generally to be cropping up with more frequency. Through the vigilance of the organization, such company unions have been unmasked before the Board. Preliminary conferences, in a number of instances, have served to erase these catspaw unions.

In twenty textile companies, in an effort to abolish company unions, the National Labor Relations Board issued formal orders.

Several of these orders have been carried to the Circuit Courts of Appeals for enforcement. As many orders again to eradicate company unions in textile companies have been made in intermediate reports by the National Labor Board examiners. In this manner the Board has served to substantiate the union's exposure of the company union as an instrument designed to throttle genuine organization. At the same time it has eliminated the mechanism in many mills, freeing the workers to frame for themselves a genuine organization.

In the same way the Act frequently helps to overcome an employers' reluctance against recognizing a union as the workers' representative. There was no legal way, before the Act was passed, for compelling a stubborn employer to acknowledge the union chosen by his workers. It was not uncommon for defiant employers to try choking off the union by negotiating with a diverse group of bargaining agents. In order to force recognition by employers, unions were forced to strike some times and at others to use forms of economic pressure. The power of the NLRB to certify collective bargaining agencies has eliminated much cause of strife hitherto in industry.

For employers who oppose the union as the bargaining agency of their workers, the Board designates the official bargaining representative. In eight cases involving 5,600 workers, TWOC was certified as sole bargaining agent by the Board through a count of pledge or membership cards. This eliminated delay, proving a facile method for checking the union's membership. Probably the most outstanding instance, under this procedure, was that of the American Bemberg and North American Rayon Companies in Elizabethton, Tennessee.

Then, in fifteen instances, TWOC was designated as sole collective bargaining agent through a count of cards at formal hearings on certification. Most important of these were the cases of the Stehli Silk Co., American Hair and Felt Co., Bradford Dyeing Company and the American Manufacturing Company. These cases, in the main, covered employers who had questioned the authority of the union, but had consented to elections. These elections served to confirm the union as collective bargaining agent.

Other employers, defying the Act, refused their consent to elections, in some instances turning to every form of subterfuge and delay. To obtain elections in the plants of such employers, it has been necessary for the union to petition the NLRB. The Board, in these cases, holds formal hearings to review the questions in dispute and then orders an election. The 151 elections in which TWOC has participated, covered some 89,000 workers. Of this total, 72,000 gained the protection of TWOC as bargaining agent through 117 elections won by the union which lost but 32 elections for 15,500 workers. Of these election victories, 60 in the South covered 40,000 workers. In two elections, TWOC won a plurality of the votes, just short of a majority and succeeded in having two other elections set aside because the company had misdirected the voting by coercion or intimidation.

Several of these election victories proved the foundation for a successful history of collective bargaining. Some of these have been described in other parts of the report. Furthermore, organization has progressed, expanding its sphere, in most of the mills where elections have been lost. Intensive educational campaigns have been launched to allay the fears which had prevented the workers from expressing their choice of the union as their agent. It is expected that these mills shortly will boast of real contractual relations.

The protection offered by the National Labor Relations Act extends to the very processes of collective bargaining. Many employers even after their employees had chosen their representatives through elections, resisted collective bargaining. For such employers, in some instances the NLRB has turned to the Circuit Courts in order to force compliance with the collective bargaining clauses of the Act. One of these companies was ordered by the court to submit counter-proposals in writing. Still other companies, finally settling disputed issues with the union, nevertheless have withheld their signatures from written agreements embodying the settlement. Though the Act has served democracy by bringing hostile employers to the council table with labor, neither it nor any other mechanism has succeeded in forcing the employers to proceed further than the meeting point into genuine collective bargaining.

Despite its usefulness as a bulwark to democracy, the Act is under attack. It is of prime importance to this nation's workers that the present National Labor Relations Act be retained, or even strengthened to make it more effective, rather than weakened as hostile elements plan. For one thing, the National Labor Relations Board requires greater appropriations to check complaints more quickly and prosecute the least as well as the largest violations.

Opposition to the Act stems from enemies to the principles of the trade union and of bona fide collective bargaining. The Act affects not one of the employers who recognizes unions and bargains collectively in good faith.

Federal Wage and Hour Law

TWOC marshalled its forces to write the Federal Wage and Hour Bill on the statute books of the nation. Now TWOC, in the guise of teacher, is training textile workers to use the law and as guardian helps in its enforcement, the while as representative of the workers it serves to carry their demands for higher minima before the Administration. Leaflets, describing the law and its application, have been broadcast by the union, on one hand, while on the other, organizers and active union members have investigated com-

plaints, bringing them for action to the federal authorities in the form of charges.

All this has served as an object lesson to show workers they may expect enforcement of such labor legislation only through the trade union. The trade union, alone, can serve to unearth the great mass of complaints, and to press for remedial action. Armed with information on violations, collected and sifted by the union, the Wage-Hour Administration then has proceeded to check many flagrant abuses in the form of sub-minimum wages and excessive hours.

In addition to these functions, TWOC serves textile workers in still another capacity under the Act. As it happens, the law gradually restricts weekly hours from the present maximum of 44 to 42 and then to 40 within three years. At the same time the law increases the hourly wage minimum from the present twenty-five cents to thirty cents after October 24 of this year and eventually to a top minimum of 40 cents.

Furthermore, in the interim, special Industry Committees, formed under the Act recommend to the Administration higher wage minima for each industry than the prevailing minima. This mechanism was designed to bring to workers the benefits of the 40 cents hourly wage-floor even sooner than the seven year limit of the law.

As a result of energetic effort by TWOC, the first of the special Industry Committees was set up for textiles under the new Fair Labor Standards Act. This group embraces cotton, silk, rayon and a number of smaller textile industries. In the same way, committees were established for the woolen and worsted industries and for the hosiery and knit goods industries as well.

On each of these committees, which consist of outstanding representatives of the employers, of the workers, and of the public, TWOC was designated in virtually all cases as the prevailing voice for textile workers. In one case, the TWOC selections form the overwhelming proportion of the labor representation. On Industry Committee 1, which covers the cotton, silk and rayon industries, Sidney Hillman, Emil Rieve, Paul Christopher, R. R. Lawrence and Elizabeth Nord from the ranks of the TWOC serve as labor representatives, while on the Wool Industry Committee, Sidney Hillman and Emil Rieve, Louis Guilmett and Horace Riviere act as labor spokesmen. On the Hosiery Industry Committee, Emil Rieve, Alfred Hoffmann, William Leader, T. Lehman and C. W. Stallings function as the labor representatives.

According to the procedure established under the Act, the Industry Committee, armed with background statistical data supplied by the Administration, held open hearings for employers and for workers to urge wage minima. At these hearings, TWOC presented carefully prepared briefs to urge the highest possible minimum, or 40 cents, for textile workers. To this mass of data, the

union added testimony from workers who were brought to Washington from the machine in all parts of the nation.

The unique and detailed presentation of data on behalf of textile workers by the union, arousing general interest, served to counteract the employers' insistence on the lowest minima. As a result, the Committee in their deliberations balanced employers' against labor's demands, making recommendations ranging from 7½ cents to 15 cents higher than the present minimum. Highest of these recommendations, and the first to reach the top minimum under the law was the 40 cents for full-fashioned hosiery workers. The recommendation for woolen and worsted was 36 cents, and for cotton, silk and rayon as well as seamless hosiery 32½ cents. With 32½ cents falling as the midpoint between the present minimum and the highest possible under the Act, the union regards the recommendations as the first step in a general advance of minima toward the wage-floor of 40 cents, which the union pointed out in its briefs was feasible for all textile industries. The union has announced it will intensify its efforts on behalf of the top minimum, in order to bring its benefits as soon as possible to all workers. In the meantime, the recommendations, if they are approved by the Administrator, will bring increases to the pay envelopes of hundreds of thousands of workers.

Public hearings are scheduled in the near future to permit elements in each industry to testify on possible effects of the proposed wage minima. These hearings will precede action by the Administrator, Elmer F. Andrews, who must formally approve each recommended wage minimum.

The efficacy of the Wage and Hour Law depends, in the final analysis, on the worker at the machine. On him falls the duty to report every infraction of the law to the union, so that the union in turn may carry the complaints to the federal authorities. With full enforcement of the law, in this manner, the union may sooner introduce higher minima to the American industrial scene.

TWOC has fought against the employers' every request for exemptions from these wage bottoms. The three principal employer associations in the textile industry asked for an exemption for learners, as a case in point. This testimony covered an attempt to bore a loophole for wages pitifully lower even than the 25 cents minimum. The union's charges, ably presented by its representatives, evoked an apology from the proponents of the exemption, who first asked for conferences and then withdrew their request. This, as it happens, bears historic aspects. It stands out as the first time in the textile industry that employers in the face of incontrovertible evidence by the union, withdrew their requests voluntarily, and symbolizes their respect for the intelligence and growing strength of the union.

In the same way, the union vigilantly safeguards the rights of

textile workers under state minimum wage laws. Some of these state laws cover only women and children. In New Jersey TWOC carried before the State Minimum Wage Board its campaign for a thirty-five cents minimum in the umbrella industry.

Public Contracts Board

The union, in an effort to further protection for wage standards in the textile industry has requested the Board administering the Walsh-Healey Act for government contracts to set minimum wages in this field. The law provides for an eight hour day and forty hour week in addition to time and one-half for overtime and safe, healthful working conditions. It prohibits work by minors under sixteen years of age, and by convicts, as well. The law penalizes employers who violate its provisions while they enjoy government contracts.

TWOC's effort under the Public Contracts Act to obtain minimum wage standards for the entire textile industry has already brought minima in the carpet and rug industry. It is expected, however, that the wage minimum prescribed by the Wage-Hour Administration eventually will prevail for government contracts as well so that the Walsh-Healey Act will serve as a double-check on violators of the Fair Labor Standards Act.

With employers indifferent to the Public Contracts Act, and few of them cooperating with the agency, not one appeared at the hearings on proposed minima for the carpet and rug industry. By contrast, TWOC presented a careful brief, supporting with statistical evidence its plea for a 40 cents minimum wage. The union's request was granted. The Board ruled in favor of a forty cents minimum for all carpet and rug workers who work on government contracts.

The union has served as a policing agency, under this law, reporting violations and pressing for action against them. This vigilance produced back-pay for workers who had been denied overtime by their employers. The case of the Lane Cotton Company, one of the largest recipients of government contracts, is an outstanding example of the union's work on this legislative front. The firm, with a long history of violations, had defied every federal act protecting labor. The union had filed charges against its flagrant resistance both to provisions of the Wagner Labor Act and the Walsh-Healey Act. The Union finally has requested that this consistent violator be removed from the list of firms eligible for government contracts.

The union, in addition, has ranked its strength behind the effort of the CIO to amend the Walsh-Healey Act. The amendment, prohibiting the granting of government contracts to firms violating the National Labor Relations Act, also brings under the scope of the law the smaller government contracts now exempt from its provisions. These contracts are for less than $10,000.

Other Labor Laws

The union's efforts to bring new legislation to federal and state law books on behalf of textile workers, to improve old legislation and to enforce existing legislation all have served to widen the field of social legislation.

Its service to promote and to carry out social security has been of infinite value. Urging that social security benefits be increased in quantity and widened in scope to cover more workers in the nation, the union at the same time has taught workers how to avail themselves of benefits owing them under the law. As such, the union serves as an arm of the Social Security Act. Both the organizers and the attorneys of the union have framed for workers their applications for unemployment and other social security benefits. In addition, they have carried their cases before the Social Security Appeal Boards. This service, in many instances, has won for workers benefits they could never secure as individuals, alone, separated and helpless.

In the same way, the union has safeguarded benefits of workmen's compensation for countless textile workers. It has obtained physical examinations by impartial medical experts for victims of industrial accidents and of occupational diseases, furnishing the injured with legal advice and carrying their cases to the compensation authorities or to the courts to obtain thousands of dollars in redress for the incapacitated. Groups of the compensation cases have been carried by the union through a series of formal proceedings until finally substantial awards were granted the afflicted workers.

The story of the union's efforts on behalf of direct relief and of work relief for the jobless has been highlighted in another part of this report. They form a major part of the union's work in the field of social legislation.

The union, in addition, has pitted its strength behind efforts by local labor groups to obtain state laws for the regulation of wages and hours and of homework. The union has fought, in the same way, for adequate social insurance laws in the state and for efficient administration of these laws.

Finally, the union has carried before the United States Tariff Commission on behalf of textile workers, data and statistics on the industry. The union's arguments had influenced the course of negotiations, as the terms of the reciprocity treaty with Great Britain bear witness.

The entire pattern of the union's legislative work, in all its varied phases and before legislative leaders, the federal and state agencies and the courts, have served to frame labor law, to give it a strong backlog of support, and to spread its benefits to textile workers from coast to coast and from Maine to Mexico.

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